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Socialism Needs Authority—Commemorating the 95th Anniversary of Engels' Death

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in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 90 pp 2-6

[Commentator's article]

[Text] The fifth day of August this year marks the 95th anniversary of the death of the great teacher Engels. Like Marx, Engels was both a revolutionary leader of the world proletariat and also a master of science. With his expansive knowledge, deep-going achievements, and wide breadth of vision, he cooperated with Marx in creating the theory of scientific socialism and selflessly gave his brilliant life for the liberation of the proletariat, thereby gaining the broad respect and love of the oppressed people of the world. Under the new historical conditions, the best way to remember Engels is to systematically and more deeply study his theoretical legacy, carry on his work, and continually push forward his unfinished cause.

Engels' theoretical contribution was many-sided. His article "On Authority," which was published in 1873, has an important position in the Marxist theoretical system. Today, reviewing "On Authority" and studying and putting into practice the Marxist view of authority has major guiding significance in our country's socialist modernization.

Does socialism need authority? In "On Authority" Engels gave an affirmative answer to this question. His debate with the original anarchist Bakunin was centered precisely on this question. At that time, the First International faced a major threat from Bakunin's conspiratorial clique and Bakunin's anarchism was a major scourge of the entire international communist movement. In summary, the views of Bakunin and his followers involved the negation of all states and the negation of all authority. They believed that authority was the absolute scourge and they wanted to abolish the authority of political states and to make the abolition of authority the first action of the social revolution. They imagined future society as a scattered, unorganized society based on small-scale production. It would be an absolutely free society where no authority existed. Engels targeted this mistaken idea of Bakunin and his followers and, using dialectical materialist and historical materialist scientific methods, thoroughly expounded on the role and nature of authority. He pointed out, "The authority spoken of here is the imposition of the will of other people on ourselves; in another respect authority has submission as a precondition."¹ That is to say, authority is coercive in nature and people must submit themselves to it. Seen from the history of the development of human society, every society has had to establish some authority as a means to safeguard the normal functioning and development of that society. In societies where classes and class struggle existed, the class which occupied the ruling and controlling position has always relied on authority to safeguard the order and stability of

society, to consolidate its own rule. Regardless of which class was ruling, the authority of that class was always safeguarded and it forced the opposing classes to submit to it. In slave society, feudal society, and capitalist society it was like that and in socialist society also. Although the content and nature of authority in different social forms varies greatly or is essentially different, with diverse forms of manifestation, the forms are consistent in that they all have the characteristics of employing coercion and requiring submission. If there is no authority, there is no society. If a society is to exist, there must be the managers as well as the managed, the commanders and the commanded. Thus there is a need for authority as a means of mediation between them. Without authority, society cannot continue to exist. Even in communist society, when political authority will have been eliminated it is unthinkable that there would not be any mechanism to maintain the management of society.

At present, the question is how to carry out a concrete historical and class analysis of authority so that we can understand what type of authority is required under what conditions; understand which authority to support and which to oppose; and so that we can establish a scientific attitude to the question of authority.

In our country, the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production has been basically completed and the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes. But class struggle still exists within a certain range, will continue to exist for quite a long period, and may at times be manifested as quite acute and intense struggle. Thus, we still require the authority of the people's democratic dictatorship. This authority not only must not be weakened or abolished, but must be safeguarded and strengthened. Engels pointed out, "If the political party which has obtained victory does not wish to lose the achievements of its struggle, it must maintain its own rule by producing fear among the reactionary forces with its weapons." If we are unable to use this authority properly, socialism may well be defeated. The rise and fall of the Paris Commune, the first embryonic form of socialist society, is the best example to show the importance of the principle of authority in the proletarian revolutionary struggle. It was only possible to establish the Paris Commune because there was "reliance on the authority of armed people to counter the bourgeoisie." One of the major reasons the Paris Commune experienced defeat was because it lacked centralization and authority. The veteran Italian warrior Garibaldi, who supported the Paris Commune, pointed out, "The reason the Paris Commune collapsed was that there was no authoritative political power in Paris and there was only an anarchic situation."² The experiences of history are worth drawing on. There are some good-hearted people who are unclear in their understanding of the necessity of martial law and the suppression of the rebellion in Beijing last year. However, following the development of the international and domestic situations, an increasing number of people

have come to understand that it is only with such authority that our People's Republic could be saved.

Our's is a socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party. The need to safeguard the party's leadership and the authority of the state is self-evident. The authority of the leadership by the party was established in the struggle by which the party led the Chinese new democratic revolution to victory and was developed in the process by which great achievements were realized in the party-led socialist revolution and socialist construction. If we become divorced from the party's leadership and the state's authority, our society will become unstable, normal social order will become chaotic, and it will be impossible to achieve anything. Because of some mistakes in guiding work by individual party leaders in recent years, there has been a flood of bourgeois liberal ideas. Added to this has been the spread of bureaucratism and corruption in the party, while the party has become divorced from the masses. Thus, the authority of the party and the government has been invisibly subjected to varying degrees of harm. Since the Third Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, our party has firmly corrected the mistakes which occurred in the past. We have, in particular, corrected the major mistake whereby, in the building of material and spiritual civilizations, one was stressed and the other was ignored. We have implemented in an overall way the basic line of one focus and two basic points, adopted a series of measures, tightened links to the masses, strengthened the building of clean government, and eliminated the phenomenon of corruption, thereby strengthening the authority of party and state leadership. Safeguarding this authority is where the basic interests of the whole party and of the people of the whole country lie. The line, principles, and policies of the party Central Committee, party documents and directives, and the state laws and regulations must all be firmly implemented. All arbitrary actions whereby people do as they please, do not implement instructions, and do not heed prohibitions, or whereby "when the upper levels devise a policy, the lower levels devise a countermeasure," are to be firmly curbed. Cadres at all levels and the whole body of party members must consciously safeguard the authority of the party and the state and firmly struggle against all words and actions that harm this authority.

Marx and Engels, when criticizing Bakunin's anarchism, pointed out, "In order to guarantee the success of the revolution, there must be a unity between ideology and actions."³ Today, as we engage in socialist modernization, we need, in the same way, to have unity between ideology and actions. What do we rely on to achieve this unity? We can only rely on the authority of the scientific system of thought constituted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. During the period of the democratic revolution, we relied on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to change the situation of disunity in old China, to overturn the three big mountains, and establish the New China. Today, as we engage in socialist construction, we also have to rely

on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, so that the people of the whole country are unified and organized and so that we can jointly struggle to realize socialist modernization. Our aim in allowing the hundred schools of thought to contend and the hundred flowers to blossom is to enrich our country's science and culture and to strengthen and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. If the negation of the guiding position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and the advocacy of so-called "ideological plurality" and the so-called "equal status" of the various ideologies is not a manifestation of political puerility, then there must be ulterior motives behind it. Seen from what has been advocated by the bourgeois liberal "elite" over the last few years, their aim is to destroy the spiritual props on which our cause depends and relies.

Socialist economic construction likewise cannot be divorced from authority. Socialist production is modern, large-scale production and the necessity of authority is determined by the nature of large-scale production. Following the speedy development of science and technology, the production process has become increasingly complex and scientific, the division of work has become more specialized, mutual reliance has been strengthened, and this has strengthened the need for authority. In the production of any product, the production sequence involves many procedures and requires cooperation by many sides. If in an enterprise, a department, a cooperating factory, a work process, or a link the producers do not coordinate properly, it will affect the entire production process. In today's economic life, the relationship between people is an equal one of comrades, but also involves a relationship between commander and subordinate. If in the relationship between people, subordination is not stressed at all, there will be no way to carry out normal production, much less engage in development. Authority in production is, in a sense, a product of the capitalist production modes. We need to study all scientific achievements realized under the capitalist system, including economic management experiences. Following the development of modern capitalism, many famous management studies experts in the West have repeatedly stressed the importance of authority. The famous U.S. management experts Kast and Rosenzweig point out, "We need sufficient authority to guarantee unified action and progress toward group goals."⁴ In modern developed Western countries, within businesses and groups, organization is tight and management is extremely authoritative. This often leaves people with deep impressions. However, as this is determined by capitalist private ownership, although the authority of social organizations and state intervention which regulate production have been greatly strengthened since the initial period of capitalism, the chronic illness of the anarchic situation of capitalist production cannot be completely cured. Thus, there is no way to coordinate development of production in overall capitalist society and there is no way to avoid periodic economic crises. At the present stage of our country's socialist development, we have implemented a planned commodity economy

with public ownership as the main part. The establishment of public ownership of the means of production gives the state special new functions. The state needs, and is able, to guide the planned, proportional development of the entire national economy. This is one of the major laws of socialist economic development and is also an important aspect in manifesting the superiority of the socialist economy. In the past, a major shortcoming existed in the economic structure in that the relationship between centralization and decentralization was not handled well. That which should have been decentralized was not decentralized and that which should have been centralized was not centralized. The work was not done well. The former situation did not benefit the mobilizing of the enthusiasm of the localities, while the latter situation could lead to decentralism. At present, what needs to be stressed is that all localities, departments, production units, and producing individuals must firmly implement the various economic policies, measures, and decisions taken by the state in carrying out macroeconomic regulation and control. They must also firmly complete the planned targets and financial and tax tasks handed down by the state. Otherwise the overall development of the national economy will be affected. This will not only harm the overall interests of the state but will also basically harm collective and individual interests.

Will the stressing of socialist authority obstruct reform? The answer is no. The aim of reform is not to negate authority, but rather to negate the defects which existed in the original system, so that our management system has authority and so that the use of authority is more scientific, more suited to reality, and is more in accord with the objective demands of the laws of social development. The achievements in the 10 years of reform prove that only through reform can we promote the swift development of the productive forces and the overall progress of society, so that our leadership system and management system are truly in accord with the objective demands of economic development. Two opposing views exist on the purpose of reform. One is that we should follow a socialist orientation when carrying out the reforms and the other is that we should guide reform toward the capitalist road. Thus, in the reforms, we must safeguard the line, principles, and policies of the party Central Committee, safeguard the authority of the socialist system, and safeguard the authority of the four cardinal principles. Only in this way will it be possible to guarantee the socialist orientation of reform. Carrying out reform requires a stable environment and reform plans and measures must be implemented in a guided and ordered way. Thus, there is no way this can be divorced from authority. Reform is an arduous and complex systematic process and requires brave exploration. We should allow experimentation in anything which is beneficial to the development of the productive forces, and beneficial to the consolidation and perfection of the socialist system, and we should allow the discussion of differing opinions. However, as soon as a unified decision has been taken, or a unified plan or deployment

decided, there needs to be an unwavering authority and all areas must seriously implement the decision or plan. We cannot have a situation where one place does one thing and another does something else. Otherwise, the authority of unified leadership will be harmed and this will not be beneficial to the smooth development of reform.

Will the stressing of authority obstruct people's freedom? The answer to this question depends on how one views freedom. Real freedom, in the scientific sense, forms a unity with authority, while the freedom spoken of by anarchists is naturally antagonistic to authority. Bakunin and his followers mistakenly believed that if the old authority were overturned, people would be able to live in complete freedom without any restraints. Their "ideal" future society was a society which had no authority and only had personal freedom. It would be a society controlled by what they called the "principle of autonomy" and would completely exclude the theory of principle of authority. Engels pointed out, "It is preposterous to say that the principle of authority is an absolutely bad thing and that the principle of autonomy is an absolutely good thing." Montesquieu also said, "The right to choose those under whom we will be subordinate is freedom."⁵ This shows that freedom and authority form a unity. Regardless of to which class or stratum a person belongs, he must first submit to the authority of that class or stratum. At the same time as he struggles for the freedom of this class or stratum, he obtains personal freedom. Absolute freedom without any restrictions does not exist in the world. Absolute freedom where one says what one thinks and does what one wants absolutely cannot exist in any society. Without authority there is no freedom. Any freedom has to be safeguarded by a certain authority and, at the same time, is restricted by that certain authority. People only have leeway to act freely within a certain scope allowed by authority. Today, some people just talk about freedom and do not talk about submission or have no consciousness of submission. Such people often meet rebuffs in life and always feel that they are not free. Basically, only by submitting to the laws of nature, submitting to the objective laws of sociohistorical development, and submitting to the common interests and will of the masses can one have the real freedom to transform nature and society. Like Bakunin and his followers, the people who engage in bourgeois liberalization also advocate absolute freedom. They actually want to sacrifice the freedom of the broad masses of laboring people to enable a small minority of people to have their capitalist freedoms. This absolute freedom which they want is actually "absolute" autocracy of a minority over the majority.

As it is preposterous to set authority and freedom in antagonistic positions, so it is wrong to place authority and democracy in contradistinction. The democracy we speak of is socialist democracy where the people are the masters. This democracy is a unity of democracy and dictatorship, a unity of democracy and the law, and a unity of democracy and centralization. Put another way,

it is a unity between democracy and authority. If we talk about authority divorced from democracy, it will change into a dictatorship by individuals and will bring with it harmful authority. This would be abuse of authority. In the same way, if we talk about democracy divorced from authority, it will be abuse of democracy. Democracy, as a system, is guided, ordered authority. Authority is essential for the operation of a democratic mechanism. Under a democratic system, the resolution of problems is often done through one of two forms. The first is where representatives of all sides discuss and decide on measures by which to resolve the problem. The second is to rely on voting to resolve the problem. Regardless of which form is employed, this manifests the collective will and this should have unquestioned authority. As Engels noted, "The will of individuals must always submit. That is to say, problems must be resolved through reliance on authority." We can see that democracy not only needs authority as a guarantee but also needs authority to be realized. Building a high degree of socialist democracy is one of our basic aims and basic tasks. Strengthening the authority of socialism is completely consistent with building a high degree of democratic politics, and is also where the significance of democratic politics lies. We do not want ultrademocracy, regardless of what authority or what centralization it involves. Like anarchism, either it is "just spreading confused ideas" or it is "betraying the proletarian movement." "Under these two situations, they are only working in the service of the reactionary forces." The aim of these persons who persist in bourgeois liberalization and those who slander socialist democracy as being feudal autocracy, and negate it as being "an old system of authority" lies in wanting to use bourgeois authority to replace proletarian authority.

Under the socialist system, the realization of the unity of freedom, democracy, and authority was something that Comrade Mao Zedong proposed long ago, so as to produce "a political situation which has both centralization and democracy, discipline and freedom, unified will and individual freedom of mind, and liveliness and vivacity."⁶ This is a major goal we need to achieve in the reform of the political structure and will also be an important indicator in assessing the size of achievements realized in political reform. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, we have summed up the experiences and lessons of the past and made great efforts to create this situation. In future, we will need to make even greater efforts in this respect.

The Marxist view of authority is different in principle from neo-authoritarianism. In our country, the ideological tide of neo-authoritarianism rose in 1986 and the source of this idea was in the Western theory of "elite democracy." Its basic views are that the political and historical development of human society has seen three stages, the stages of old authoritarianism, neo-authoritarianism, and free democracy. They hold that our country is now in the stage where the old authoritarianism is disintegrating and, thus, elite figures with

modern consciousness and powerful military and political figures should establish an "enlightened autocracy" and use centralized-power rule to safeguard the development of the market economy to finally make the transition to a so-called free and democratic system of government. The precondition of both neo-authoritarianism and the Western theory of "elite democracy" is historical idealism, because both take the masses to be just a common herd. Schumpeter, a representative figure of the theory of "elite democracy," has bluntly stated that "the people are a disappointing lot."⁷ The theory of neo-authoritarianism has "the benightedness of the masses" as a basic condition for its emergence. Marxists firmly believe that the masses are the creators of history and that only if authority reflects and represents the will of the masses can it truly emerge as authority. Marxism does not deny the authoritative role of outstanding persons and leaders but holds that, "without the 'dozens' of tried and talented leaders (and talented men are not born by the hundreds), professionally trained, schooled by long experience, and working in perfect harmony, no class in modern society can wage a determined struggle."⁸ In today's China, only people who firmly uphold Marxism and firmly and with all their hearts serve the people can become authoritative figures who accord with the patterns of social development and represent the will of the people. Only they will be able to truly obtain the support of the people and play a major role in the development of the socialist cause. However, the neo-authoritarians who take the establishment of a Western free market economy and plural democratic politics as their basic goal, because they go against the laws of development of Chinese society and the will of the broad masses of people, will only be able to travel a road antagonistic to the masses and will be eliminated by history. Further, the so-called "authority" of the neo-authoritarians excludes democracy. They want only to establish the authority of a minority of "political elite" figures, that is, an authority where, under their rule, things are done in accordance with their desire to develop capitalism. This is actually "new" autocracy. As soon as their proposal meets obstacles, they do not hesitate to fan the flames of anarchism to create turmoil and rebellion. Under the new conditions, neither neo-authoritarianism nor anarchism exist in isolation, but are linked to bourgeois liberalization. Neo-authoritarianism and anarchism are nothing but alternative methods used by persons who adhere to bourgeois liberalization. Their aim is to implement capitalism in China. This reactionary policy is doomed to failure.

Engels' article "On Authority" inspires us, on the theoretical level, to consider how to correctly understand the question of authority under socialism. Through study and increasing our consciousness in safeguarding socialist authority, we must draw a clear line distinguishing the various types of mistaken concepts and ideas on the question of authority. In this way, we will be able to make our own contributions in safeguarding stable political and economic development in our country's society.

Footnotes

1. "On Authority" in *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 55. All further citations, unless otherwise noted, are from "On Authority."
2. See *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 18, p. 519.
3. *Marx and Engels on Bakuninism*, p. 406.
4. *Organization and Management*, p. 368.
5. "The Spirit of the Laws."
6. *Selected Readings of the Works of Mao Zedong*, last volume p. 819.
7. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, p. 328.
8. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 5, p. 432.

Discussion on Issues Relating To Improvement of Work Style and Methods of Leadership

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[Article by Yang Baibing (2749 4101 0393)]

[Text] [Editor's note] This article was a talk delivered by Comrade Yang Baibing at a rotating training class on philosophy for cadres of army level and above sponsored by the PLA [People's Liberation Army] Military Academy. Certain parts of the talk have been deleted from the article. [end editor's note]

Improving the work style and methods of leadership is an old topic but also a very important and realistic one. The status of the ruling power, the environment of the reform and opening to the outside world, and drastic changes in the international situation have confronted our party with an unprecedented test. Improving the work style and methods of leadership and restoring and displaying the flesh-and-blood relationship between the party and the masses have an important bearing on the stability of the whole situation and on the rise and fall, success or failure, of the party and the state. Taking a step further to solve well the problem of the "style of work being down-to-earth and the work being truthful and penetrating" is also an urgent need in the building of a leadership team and a contingent of cadres for our armed forces.

To improve the work style and methods of leadership requires efforts from all sides. Of these, the most fundamental is to strengthen learning, particularly devoting efforts to intensify studies on the basic viewpoints of Marxist philosophy. Various kinds of problems exist in the work style and methods of leadership and, whether you know it or not, in the final analysis, the trouble is caused by idealism and metaphysics. Hence, only if we

can have a thorough understanding of the basic viewpoints of Marxist philosophy can we become a little wiser and do a better job in improving the work style and methods of leadership.

I. Firmly Insist on Seeking Truth From Facts and Build the Guidance of Work on Real Knowledge of Objective Realities

When our leadership comrades put forth ideas and give directions, what is their basis? Where do the plans, measures, and methods of our guidance work come from? Anybody knows that we can depend only on objective reality and actual practice. Nevertheless, many comrades have committed errors on this problem of common understanding. For example, certain decisions and measures deviate from reality, are not workable, and must be changed again and again. The reflection of the lower levels is: "Scarcely do we learn, before we are told that it will not do. No changes have been announced but soon new documentations and orders come forth!" Some tasks and targets have been put too high, too rash, and too demanding, with the result that not only could they not be implemented, but they also harmed the activism and enthusiasm of the lower levels. Some programs and measures seemed to have been very detailed and meticulous but were not workable in actual practice and could hardly be pushed through despite great efforts made. What was the crux of such problems? In my opinion, we cannot say that our comrades did not know the actual conditions at all; rather, they used their brains and thought that it was the right way to do things. The problem was that they did not know the whole truth regarding actual conditions, or know it deeply enough.

So-called "not knowing the truth," means not grasping the real conditions. Some comrades are satisfied with merely hearing reports, looking at the materials, and having only a rough idea. They lack knowledge of the whole truth. Some may have a slight idea but are still far from knowing the whole truth.

So-called "not knowing the whole truth" means knowing or understanding the whole situation only piecemeal and not systematically, being one-sided and not knowing all sides. That is, knowing only one part and not another part; knowing only partially and not wholly; knowing only the advantages and not the defects; and knowing only the old situation and not the new changes.

So-called "not knowing deeply enough" means not having grasped the innate law of things; that is, seeing only the phenomenon and not the original; seeing only the results and not the causes; knowing only the general but not the particular; or having half-knowledge and not whole knowledge.

It is easy to say that we must seek truth from facts and start everything from reality, but it is difficult to carry it out. The difficulty lies in that objective reality is complex and complicated; the law hidden behind a phenomenon cannot be seen through at one glance; besides, objective reality is ever-changing and what is clear today

may not be clear tomorrow. In addition, many problems in social life are related to mankind's advantages and disadvantages and gains or losses. Handling and treating these advantages and disadvantages and gains or losses frequently interfere with and influence our understanding of objective reality. Hence, it is said that this problem of subjectivism is very obstinate and persistent. Whether you like it or not, it bothers you ceaselessly. At times, you unconsciously commit the error of subjectivism. Firmly insisting on seeking truth from facts is insisting firmly on the union of subjectivism and objectivism and is the nucleus of the cognitive theory of dialectical materialism. The series of Marxist ideological methods and methods of work formed by our party in the protracted period of revolution and construction are all linked together by this red cord of seeking truth from facts. Hence, when we talk about improving the work style and methods of leadership, basically we should brush off the spirit of idealism, overcome subjective willfulness, firmly build the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, and struggle hard to enable ourselves to obtain the true and real knowledge of objective reality.

In truly accomplishing seeking truth from facts and making subjectivism conform with objectivism, the basic road and method are investigation and research. Regardless of how rich one's experiences are, how strong his capability is, and whether in the case of a political cadre, a military cadre, a logistics cadre, or a technical cadre, this basic function must be insisted on. In recent years, many leadership cadres have entertained the understanding that now is the "era of news and information," communication tools are well developed, various kinds of literary and video materials are abundant, and there are many channels to grasp and know the conditions. Hence, there is no need to go deep into the grassroots level as in the past and to investigate and study. This view is incorrect. Investigation and study are our traditional treasures. Regardless of how conditions change, how developed communications tools become from now on, and how many other channels are available for understanding the conditions, investigation and study are still the basic and most reliable tactics for us to grasp the conditions. At no time should these traditional treasures be abandoned.

Everyone is well acquainted with the ways of investigation and study, as indeed there are many, but the most basic ones are devoting great effort to knowing personally, knowing truthfully, and knowing intensively.

Knowing personally means going deep and investigating personally, "dissecting the sparrow" so to speak. In a general way, we may say that our cadres have completely failed to do any investigation or study. This does not conform to reality. The problem now is that certain comrades float on the upper level, entrenched by affairs and unable to liberate themselves. They depend on telephoning and reading documents to guide their work and on second-hand materials to pass the day. Some may have gone to the lower levels but could not stay there long and this may be aptly described as "going the

rounds in the morning, eating lunch at the regiment, and returning by car in the afternoon." This style of leadership work must be determinedly changed. We must firmly cut down activities at the upper level; vigorously reduce the work on documents, cables, and meetings; drop all unimportant and minor matters; move the two legs to go to the lower levels; and truly take investigation and study as the main content of our work and the basic and practical activities. The ancient sages said, "Learning from paperwork is shallow, after all; what is absolutely needed is that we go personally into a matter." These words may apply to composing a poem or literary writing, but they are all the more true when applied to investigation and study. In investigation, going the rounds is a necessity, but nowadays certain comrades have somewhat surpassed this requirement and would stop at a unit for just a moment and be on their way again. Therefore, it is necessary to advocate more the need of staying longer at a unit to investigate, to "dissect the sparrow" so to speak, to deduce from the particular to the general, and thus to obtain correct views for the guidance of work. A few years ago, certain people refuted this method and believed that it was "handicraft" in character and out-dated. This is erroneous. So far as leadership cadres at the higher levels are concerned, this problem of "knowing personally" is particularly important, but is also difficult to accomplish. This is because the leadership position is too high, the intermediate levels are many, the conditions below go through the "filtering" process, and, by the time they are in the hands of the leadership, they are misshapen, very frequently the corners have been smoothed out, and the problem will have become a light one. Cadres at higher levels must be on the alert with regard to this point; that is, no matter how busy and burdened by work one is, he should by all means find time to take a personal look at the armed units, go to the grassroots levels, personally experience the conditions below, and be acquainted with the sufferings of the masses. Regarding the problem of "knowing personally," there are "four cases when other people cannot substitute"; that is, in the interchange of feelings and sentiments with the masses in the course of investigation, no one else can substitute; in the acquisition of personal experiences of the actual conditions, no one else can substitute; in the solution of problems that must be made by the leadership, no one else can substitute; and in reflecting on and thinking over the direct contact with the cadres and warriors at the grassroots level, no one else can substitute.

Knowing truthfully means earnestly grasping the true and all-round conditions. Many comrades have felt that at present it is very difficult to understand a little about the real conditions. I believe that there are two causes for this: First, when certain of our leadership comrades visit places, they are accompanied by a large number of followers, greatly show off their importance, simply separate themselves from the masses, and cannot see or hear about the actual conditions. Second, certain leadership comrades like to be pleasant when hearing good tidings from below, and to frown when hearing bad

news. When subordinates at the lower levels reflect certain problems, they grasp them right away and comment on them endlessly. Some comrades in the services have said, "They come once every several years and do several years of work on this one and lone occasion." Thus, subordinates at the lower levels are prone to have a watchful psychology. They do not dare to talk about the problems and if they do talk about them they will watch every step, mince their words, or be exceedingly diplomatic. With such a work style, how is it possible to understand the true and real conditions? It can thus be seen that when leadership cadres visit places they should go with fewer followers, forget their own importance, behave like primary school children, adopt an attitude of complete equality when having heart-to-heart talks with comrades at the lower levels, be glad to hear good tidings and also be glad to hear bad news. Particularly when meeting with those comrades who dare to express different and even opposing views, they should be given all encouragement. By so doing, they can generate an atmosphere for speaking the truth and revealing actual conditions.

Knowing intensively means grasping the essence through the phenomenon and grasping the objective laws governing the development of things. We said that starting from reality was starting from the objective law and not starting from the phenomenon. Hence, investigation itself is not the end purpose; the purpose is to hold the nature of the law of things, that is, the inevitable liaison of the innate quality of things. At present when certain comrades visit places they only investigate and do not study; they carry back a bag of materials and upon their return they make an oral or written report and conclude the mission in this way. Some leadership comrades do not even listen to oral reports or read the investigation materials compiled by other people. This phenomenon of many investigations but little research, many conditions but little analysis, is fairly prevalent. The correct method should be as Comrade Mao Zedong said: After having made a systematic and all-round investigation and possessing all the materials, display the functions of the brain as a processing plant, "remove the crude, keep the essence, remove the false and keep the real, and start thinking from this to that and from the surface to the interior." Only by so doing will it be possible to rise from knowledge by impression to rational knowledge, grasp the essence of the problem, and find the method of solution.

In the final analysis, in stressing going deeply into investigation and study and knowing personally, knowing truthfully, and knowing intensively, our purpose is to firmly insist on seeking truth from facts and knowing and grasping the laws governing the building of the armed forces. After effecting a strategic change in the guiding thought on the building of the armed forces, many new conditions and new problems have emerged. However, many leadership cadres frequently have not attached importance to, or are unskilled in, groping for and summing up the things of a regular nature in the

building of the armed forces. Their work has frequently been confused and passive. Why is it that certain work, even after much ado, still cannot yield large results? Any why is it that certain problems have repeatedly appeared and certain lessons, though repeatedly learned and summed up, still cannot be effectively overcome and solved? Naturally, the causes are many, but we fear that the principal one is that there has been a lack of understanding of the law and special features of the work. Hence, only if we can know and grasp the law of things can we proceed from the kingdom of inevitability to the kingdom of freedom and grasp the initiative of work.

II. Firmly Insist on Taking Stock of the Whole Situation, Adopting a Policy of Overall Consideration and All-Round Management, and Improving the Power of Handling the Whole Situation

How to correctly handle the relationship between part of the situation and the whole situation and between the present and the future and improve the power of handling the whole situation is an important facet of our improving the method of leadership and the craftsmanship of leadership.

First, we must understand the whole situation and abide by the whole situation. The so-called whole situation is the sum total of the various essential elements, various parts, and various development stages of things. Only through understanding the whole situation and knowing the position and role of one's part in the whole situation can a leader perform well his work. Take the present, for example. If we do not understand the intense struggle between the two social systems on the international front and if we do not understand the big internal background of the sharp confrontation between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalization, then we cannot deeply understand why we must devote great efforts to strengthening political construction in our armed forces. In the minds of our cadres at the higher levels, several major aspects must be embodied therein: 1) the international situation and the domestic political direction; 2) the great political guidelines of the party, the state, and the armed forces; 3) the problem of the directional nature and basic nature of the construction of the armed forces; and 4) the difficulties at the grassroots level and the sufferings of the cadres and soldiers. By so doing, we can stand a little higher, broaden our view, consciously feel that we act for the situation as a whole, and thus become able to do the work of our own part even better.

Leadership cadres not only must know the whole situation, but also must follow the whole situation. When partial interests are in conflict with whole interests, we must consciously respect and follow the interests of the whole. At times certain partial interests and temporary interests must be sacrificed for the sake of the whole. For example, under the present economic conditions of our country, military expenditures cannot conceivably be increased to any great extent and construction of the armed forces can only obey the whole situation of national economic construction. Each and every one of our leadership comrades must consciously share the

worries of the party and the state and cannot disregard the demands of the whole situation and look at problems only from the standpoint of partial interests, or grumble at this or that and do nothing. Within a team, each and every member must harbor a concept of the whole and cannot place outstanding importance on the part he has charge of. All the more, it cannot be "each for his own sake and each does his own whistling." In the past we frequently warned that a team lacking unity would result in internal deterioration. Supplementing this, we now may say that, without entertaining the idea of a "chess-board," conflict in work is also a sort of internal deterioration.

Second, we must have overall consideration and all-round management and learn to "play the piano." Be it a group army or a military district, it is a vast structure, heading tens of thousands of soldiers, handling work of myriad kinds and touching on many sides. It is not an easy task to grasp the whole situation and coordinate the work of all sides. The higher the degree of modernization, the more complex are the conditions, and the demand on leadership cadres to handle the whole situation and to make overall consideration and all-round management is all the more difficult to fulfill. An important problem here is to correctly handle the relations between central work and ordinary work. In a given period, a unit is bound to have a major contradiction and the leadership must be skilled in grasping this principal contradiction, grasp well the central work, and not treat all alike, "mixing up the eyebrow with the beard," so to speak. At the same time emphasis must be given to making the central work set in motion other work. The two cannot be split up or be in a position of opposing each other. The reason why we put the stress on the central work is because the principal contradiction plays the role of fixing and determining the nonprincipal contradictions and grasping the principal contradiction can create the conditions for solving contradictions of lesser importance. However, if we grasp only the central work and neglect other work, then the central work will become a "commandant without any followers" and there will be no one for him to command and to give orders to. We must also perceive that the fighting power of an army unit is constituted by many factors and that if any one of the elements or any one of the stages is defective, the fighting power will be correspondingly affected. Therefore, we must attach importance to all-round construction and prevent "concentration on one phase only." Nonetheless, certain comrades like to concentrate on one phase in their work and score a singular and outstanding stunt. Because they wish to perform well in one certain aspect, they hardly care about other aspects and may even harm other aspects. Some organizations like to try out advanced companies and piloting companies and may succeed in forming some symbolic units. But because all-round construction is neglected in the course of work, a general imbalance exists with literally "one leg long and one leg short," truly a distorted development. In the development of things, balance is symmetrical, whereas imbalance is nonsymmetrical. The work of a

unit is always good in some aspects and poor in certain other aspects, but the leadership must guard against such an imbalance going to the extreme, and should devote efforts to help overcome the weak points, coordinate development of the work on all sides, and obtain all-round strengthening.

Third, we must be skilled in grasping the trend of development of things and strengthen the anticipatory nature of work. In the capacity of a high-ranking leadership cadre, particularly principal leadership with overall responsibilities, one must keep the whole situation in mind, stand higher, look farther, and employ major brain power to the consideration and solution of the big and important problems in the construction of the armed unit. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Only with the whole situation in mind will it be possible to play a good chess game." Insufficient study and forecasting with respect to big and important problems; taking one step forward and then debating about taking another step; inability to discover the signs of trends in the construction of the armed units and decide promptly; or shortsightedness, anxiety for quick results, and neglect of long-term construction—all these are manifestations of the lack of strategic foresight. A thing of any kind is a trend or a course of development. We must be skilled in grasping the trend of development of things, perceive the big from the small, judge the state of things, and advocate guiding views on work which are suited to reality. In this connection, the farsightedness and superb craftsmanship of the elderly ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries like Comrade Mao Zedong and others are glorious examples for us to follow. Strategic foresight is needed in directing battles in times of warfare; it is similarly needed in the leadership of the building of the armed forces in time of peace. At the same time it must be supplemented by study and research, forecasting, and meticulous observation of the objective progress and trends. For example, when important changes occur in the international situation, it is necessary to promptly study their influences on the domestic situation and particularly on the armed forces. When the party and the state put on certain important political and economic reform measures, it is also necessary to promptly study the problems they can possibly pose for the armed forces. When certain erroneous thoughts appear in society, it is likewise necessary to study through what channels it can encroach upon the armed forces. In similar manner, when our armed forces decide on a certain major policy and develop certain important work, it is necessary to study what new conditions and new contradictions may emerge in the course of their enforcement. When in the course of the construction and reform of the armed forces new things and problems have appeared then we should be able to promptly discover them and warmly tend to them. Only by so doing can we avoid being passive, strive to obtain the initiative, and be in advance of others in our work.

III. Firmly Insist on Having an All-Round Nature; Learn To Grasp With Two Hands

Striving for gaining an all-round understanding of a problem and firmly insisting on grasping guidance work

with two hands are important thoughts advocated by and repeatedly stressed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Everyone will remember that after, crushing the gang of four, regarding the assessment of the problem of the "two supports and two militarys," Comrade Deng Xiaoping first said that he would like to speak "a few words." Subsequently, he successively advocated grasping with one hand opening to the outside world and internal invigoration, and with the other, summarily dealing with economic criminal activities; grasping with one hand construction, and legislation and the legal statutes with the other; grasping with one hand material civilization construction, and spiritual civilization construction with the other; and grasping with one hand reform and opening up and grasping with the other hand observance of the four cardinal principles and opposition to bourgeois liberalization. These "few words" spoken by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and his idea of grasping with two hands constitute an intensive summing up of our party's historical experiences. It is a various manifestation in leadership method of the philosophical viewpoint of one divided into two. It is full of dialectical wisdom and is an important strategy for our rule of the country and of the military.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, concurrently with our greatly advocating the liberation of thought and opposing ossification, we have firmly insisted on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Concurrently with vigorously propagating and implementing the general principle of reform and opening to the outside world, we have firmly insisted on unloosening the education of the four cardinal principles, and at the same time have been alerted to the encroachment of the thought wave of bourgeois liberalization on the armed forces. Concurrently with actively pushing the reform and renovation of political work, we have attached importance to continuing and displaying the superior traditions of our armed forces. Under the conditions of developing the commodity economy, we have been deeply concerned with the material interests of the soldiers and at the same time have vigorously eulogized the spirit of selflessness and constantly making offerings, thereby ensuring that there is no deviation from the direction of construction of the armed forces. However, in actual work, certain comrades have displayed the spirit of one-sidedness and absolutism. For example, when it is mentioned that there will be no large-scale warfare for the time being, some comrades become numb in their thought, slacken their vigilance, and loosen their military training. When emphasis is laid on sternly enforcing army control and discipline, some comrades become simple and crude and scarcely care about methods. When it is stressed that we must understand other people, be concerned with other people, and respect other people, some comrades give up active ideological struggle and give way to erroneous ideology. When we talk about liberating thought and renovating ideas, some overlook the glorious traditions of our party and our armed forces, and so on and so forth. Although these phenomena have occurred among

cadres at the grassroots level, they are still closely related to the one-sided nature of the thought and work of certain leadership comrades. These cadres have shown great indecision, wavering in their thoughts and considering problems and guiding work with great inconsistency. This violates the law of development of things, and the result can only be confusion in the thought and deviation in work and damage to the enthusiasm of cadres and soldiers. Therefore, leadership comrades must overcome the ideological method of metaphysics, learn to understand things in the unity of dialectics, and grasp law and legal statutes. In actual work, important should be attached to the following points:

Look at both sides of things and strive to be all-round. When formulating a policy and pushing a reform scheme, we must look at the benefits and also at the "defects" that may possibly be brought along; we must make repeated calculation and cautiously make a decision. When starting on a certain piece of important work, we must be sure to see the advantageous conditions but also observe the impediments and difficulties, fully estimate the various conditions that may subsequently emerge, and have the preparatory or anticipatory work done most closely. When the work yields good results and is the object of commendation, it is still necessary to see the defects and the points of insufficiency and watch for the contradictions that may be hiding. If there is a setback and when meeting with difficulties, we must look at the bright road ahead and strengthen our own confidence. When handling big and complex problems, we must look both in front and back, pay attention to absorbing experiences from history, and make the outcome able to pass the test of history. And when summing up the results of work, on the one hand we must give full recognition to the successes and progress and, on the other hand, must bluntly acknowledge the defects and errors made, and so on. To sum up, since objective things are complex, our brain must be slightly more complex. We must also see that the two sides of dialectics are not both of equal weight. Between them there is a major point because without a major point there will be no formation of policy. Nevertheless, stressing the major point must not go to the extent of overlooking or negating the extent of the other point, otherwise this will lead to "one-point theory," absolutism, and going to the extreme.

Attach importance to the exact degree and hold to the "mature" point. The existence and development of anything must have a stated degree or extent, and in our work we must attach importance to the principle of grasping this exact degree or extent. This is also an important criterion for measuring whether or not a leader is mature for his job. For example, when starting a certain piece of important work, for the sake of unifying thought and dispelling certain impediments, it is necessary to emphasize its significance and function and it is also appropriate to suitably centralize manpower and material power for the project. But this definitely can be overdone and we must prevent redoubling of efforts step by step; otherwise, even though this

piece of work can proceed and make certain progress, because of the weakening of other sides and damaging the concerted progress of overall work, in the end it will fall back. Naturally, work must have an appropriate form and at times must have certain elegance attached to it; but if this is overdone then formalism will result. The armed forces have experienced this kind of lesson many times. Know-how and expertise are also required in attaching importance to the exact degree and holding to the right timing and they also manifest the craftsmanship of leadership. Once this condition is well grasped, work in the armed forces can avoid the phenomena of going suddenly left or suddenly right and of going up and down, and can thus progress in a coordinated and stable manner.

When rectifying a certain erroneous tendency, watch against the possibility of covering up another tendency. As a high-ranking cadre, when an erroneous thought wave sweeps in, and at the emergence of a certain erroneous tendency, one must boycott and rectify them gallantly and openly but at the same time must watch against the possibility of covering up another erroneous tendency. This illustrates the importance of why we have frequently said that leadership cadres must be clear-headed. Opposing erroneous tendencies must also start from reality. It cannot be "rashly and carelessly" done. For example, within the scope of a large military district, the existing principal tendency in management and education is that the requirements are not stern enough and there is laxity in discipline and work style. It is then proper to advocate devoting efforts to rectifying the tendency. But, if turning concretely to an individual company, it is found that the principal tendency is simple violence and crudeness, then the company must start from its own reality and solve well this major problem.

Handle well the relations between blocking and smoothing out and between breaking and making. When opposing something, we must pay attention to advocating something else; and when breaking something, we must consider setting up some other thing. This is also grasping with two hands. For example, regarding magazines and other articles propagating views of bourgeois liberalization and corrupt ideas and culture, we must be determined to have them blocked, banned, and thoroughly eradicated. But this alone is not sufficient. We must seek ways and means to enliven the cultural life of the armed forces and provide the cadres and soldiers with more and better spiritual food. If we cannot employ large quantities of proper and healthy articles to attract the soldiers, then improper and unhealthy things will take the opportunity to creep in and it will be difficult to hold firmly the ideological front of the armed forces.

In talking about breaking and setting up in work, I would like to dwell specially on the problem of the continuity of work. In the past, conditions of this kind frequently happened: upon changes in the leadership team, certain comrades newly assuming office frequently would ignore the foundation of the work of the original team and were

not adept in copying and following the points of success of the former team. Rather, they would hastily alter certain of the original routines of work, always thinking of setting up their own edifice and installing their own system. When the new team assumed office, they were extremely aggressive and thought of putting up new suppositions in the construction of the armed forces and planning to open up a new situation. This kind of ~~confusion~~ formalism was certainly good. However, in doing work we cannot cut off history, but must consider the original conditions and must progress on the original basis. If as ~~soon~~ as we newly assume office we at once refute certain things or doings of the past and pay no notice to maintaining the continuity of work, then not only will it be impossible to set up what we wish to set up, but it will also adversely affect the development of work, and the unity of all sides will be disrupted. Even though in past work there were certain points that must be rectified we must still seek truth from facts and proceed cautiously. So long as it is not a matter of principle, in general we should not openly make any criticism or rectification. Rather, we should do the diluting work gradually and seek breaking through setting up. Experiences have shown that, when once a new team assumes office, if it instantly puts up a stature of rectifying errors and does mopping up work for the disarranged setup, then it can not win people's support. Hence, attaching importance to maintaining the continuity of work not only is a problem of work style and method, but also is directly related to smoothly effecting the changeover from the old to the new and maintaining the unity and stability of the armed forces.

IV Firmly Insist on the Integration of Generality and Individuality and Strengthen the Concrete Guidance and Classified Guidance of Work

In his book *On Contradiction*, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the truth of generality and individuality, absolutism and relativism, is the essence of the problem related to the contradiction of things. The relations of generality and individuality may be met by us every hour and every minute. In a definite sense, leadership work is handling the relationship between generality and individuality. If this relationship is handled well, then there is vitality in work. If it is not handled well, work will become ordinary and errors may even be committed. The correct solution of the contradiction between generality and individuality depends principally on efforts along the following lines.

First, we must be adept in integrating directions from the higher level and the actual conditions of our unit and make changes according to time, place, and conditions. A directive from the upper level is something of a general nature brought along from objective reality. It possesses a universal guiding significance and without it the work of the local unit has nothing to abide by. However, in implementing the upper level's directive, it is necessary to start from the reality of the unit, and on the basis of an overall analysis of the situation and knowing the special features of the contradiction inside the unit, find a

suitable point of integration. Cadres at various levels in our armed forces have all along been known to have been very determined in implementing the party's guideline and policy and executing the upper level's directives. Generally speaking the integration with the actual conditions of the unit has also been of a high caliber. However, certain problems do exist. For example, some have exactly duplicated the upper level's directive. When the upper level called an important conference, the lower levels would each follow suit and all the leaders in cadres would have to give speeches. This would result in an abundance of speech manuscripts at the lower levels, all of which had the same content, with both the upper and lower levels "chanting" alike. Comrades at the lower levels are repelled at such conditions. Some comrades would not consider the special nature of the armed forces and mechanically copied the method of the localities, while some other cadres would disregard the concrete conditions of their units and stress "enforcement in the exact form" of the upper level's directive. Seen on the surface, these methods did not "lose the form" of the upper level's directive in its execution, but in reality the "spirit was lost." Comrade Mao Zedong early made a sharp criticism of this kind of problem. He said, "This attitude of formalism, which is not based on actual conditions, but proceeds without discussion and examination, carries out directions blindly, and simply rests on the wishes of the 'upper level,' is extremely incorrect. Why the party's policy and line always cannot go deep into the masses must be attributed to the doings of this type of formalism. To blindly, on surface, completely, and without objection execute the upper level's directive is not truly carrying out the directive from the above but is a very good method of opposing or 'going slow' with regard to the upper level's directive." This criticism by Comrade Mao Zedong hits the nail on the head. Hearing it today finds it still to be very correct and extremely penetrating.

Second, attach importance to differentiating between the conditions and enforce classified guidance. Our Army is an armed force composed of various categories of troops and soldiers and the various units differ greatly from each other in formation, equipment, and personnel. Conditions of the localities where the armed units are stationed also differ greatly. Hence, the demands in the guidance of work must be different in accordance with the conditions of the different armed forces and different units, that is, we must do classified guidance and classified construction. In February this year, the party Central Committee approved and circulated the proceedings of the Army Political Work Conference which is a guiding documentation for the strengthening of political construction in the armed forces. It is of general guiding significance to the whole Army. In the course of its implementation, only through starting from the reality of the armed force and the Army unit and advocating measures and methods which conform with reality and are definitely workable can it be ensured that each and every demand made in the proceedings can be thoroughly carried out in the unit. Furthermore, stressing

classified guidance also embodies the idea that the work must be done deeply and meticulously and be devoted to rendering concrete help. So far as the armed units, particularly those at the grassroots level, are concerned, they need not only direction in principle from the upper level but also concrete guidance and assistance from the upper level. After a certain project has been arranged for execution at the lower levels, we should at all times know what impediments are encountered in its execution below, what the reaction is from everybody, what contradictions and deviations have appeared, and what good experiences are gathered. We should help the lower levels with ideas and methods of solution. Only by so doing can the work be done in a down-to-earth manner. These years macroeconomic control and level-by-level leadership have been enforced. Certain comrades have erred in assuming that concrete guidance is no longer important and that it is just necessary for the high-ranking leadership cadres and organizations to carry out leadership in principle. This is not correct. Macroeconomic control and level-by-level leadership cannot replace concrete guidance, but must take concrete guidance as the basis.

Third, attach importance to grasping typical cases to lead the whole. On the basis of investigation and research, we form the guiding views on work which are then implemented in actual practice. This is from the general to the particular. Grasping the typical and employing the experiences of a point to effect guidance of the whole is a procedure of working from the particular to the general. Using typical cases to guide work is also an important method. On the side of grasping the typical, certain points deserve attention: 1) In the various kinds of work and various sides of construction of the armed forces, we must set up advanced models which possess separate special features and can represent the direction of the construction of the armed forces. A model represents a banner and if the advanced models are many, work in the armed forces will have vitality, the armed units will be invigorated and have a dense atmosphere of learning from the advanced and competing to make contributions. Since last year, in order to strengthen political construction, we called on the whole Army to develop activities to learn from Lei Feng and from the "eight good companies," and to display the role of these old models. On the other hand, we propagated a number of new models such as Zhang Zhichang, Li Yunhui, Zhao Yeqing, and so forth. This attracted strong reactions from inside and outside the armed forces. 2) We must pay attention to pushing the use of the models. Grasping of models has the objective of using their exemplary and guiding role. If all comes to a halt after a model has been selected, seen in the papers, and "registration has been made," as the masses say, "high yield above the point but no harvest on the surface at all," then all of the original meaning will have been lost. At present some comrades are inclined to propagate and push only the new models and frequently ignore the older models that had many influential effects in the past. This method should not be adopted. 3) We must help and elevate the

models. Regarding the models, we cannot propagate for a while and then leave them untended. We must help them to set even higher standards, overcome their weak points, and sum up new experiences. In particular, when the models are beset by setbacks and meet with difficulties we should not blame them, but should support and help them with great warmth. Naturally, helping and elevating cannot artificially pull them up and cannot provide protection artificially for the many special conditions. There are certain cases of models being overprotected by the unit and this has caused resentment from the unit's other employees. Indeed, grasping of models must employ the method of dialectics. The ideological method of metaphysics is hardly sufficient to have overall control of the craftsmanship of grasping models.

V. Firmly Insist on the Dialectical Union of Knowing and Acting and Devote Great Efforts To Doing Earnest and Down-to-Earth Work

Students of philosophy all know that philosophy formerly only explained the world, but Marxist philosophy has injected the viewpoint of actual practice into the theory of knowledge and has advocated that the purpose of knowing the world is wholly to transform the world. Emphasizing actual practice and stressing the skillful transformation of the world are the clear features of the philosophy of our Communist Party members. The procedure of our work is one of actual practice, knowledge, again actual practice, and again knowledge. It is a procedure of continuously knowing the world and transforming the world. It is a procedure of the unification of knowing and acting. In the foregoing we already mentioned that we must, through investigation and study, grasp the law and then put forth correct guiding ideas. But in the whole procedure of our work this consists of only the first part. What is more important is to put in action our subjective processes of determination, plans, measures, and demands, move objectively, return to actual practice, and show results in actual work. It is not easy to complete work on the first part, but to do the second part well requires even more tedious efforts, only then can the basic objective of our work be realized. No matter how good and how perfect are our views, plans, and measures, if they are allowed to remain only on paper, or oral, or in the meetings, they are hardly of any use. Hence, whether it is down-to-earth and whether it can be realized is not only a problem of style and spiritual attitude but also reflects whether the guidance ideas of our work are proper or correct and also reflect our world outlook.

Solving the problem of being earnest and down-to-earth requires work from both upper and lower levels. Failure at the lower levels in their work is closely related to the upper levels' guidance work deviating from reality in certain respects. The work assignments of certain leadership organs are too rash and too rapid in demand. Frequently, shortly after the first assignment of work has begun, a second assignment will come along. Sometimes several meetings are called at the same time and arrangements are made for several major tasks. Moreover,

immediately after the closing of a meeting, the participants are required to make their responses and to report on the results in several days' time. Some comrades have explained that formalism in their work was forced by the upper levels. This is somewhat reasonable. Naturally, cadres at the lower levels should be responsible for not having realized their work. At present, many cadres have conceived a very poor sort of psychology. It is that, after having done a little work, they are afraid that the upper level may not know. Sometimes, after a certain piece of work has only started, the cadres would keep themselves busy writing reports, giving television interviews, and generally doing much publicity work as if only by so doing could they show off their talents, their leadership level, and the successes of their work. This style of work should not be allowed! In our assessment of a cadre's work performance, we do not look principally at his reports of what and how many experiences he has gained or the number of times he has appeared in newspaper or television interviews, but we wish to know if he has fully devoted himself to his work, how he has led his unit, his accomplishments in overall construction, long-term construction, and basic construction of the armed forces. The frequent appearance of his name in the newspapers does not necessarily indicate that his work performance has been good, whereas the nonappearance at all of his name in newspaper reports does not mean that his performance has not been good. In short, cadres at various levels should not seek vanity or indulge in empty talk. They should be wholly devoted to their work, display the style of being earnest and down-to-earth, and have the appearance of dealing with concrete matters in their work.

To be sturdy and practicable, it is necessary to combine being solid and creative in work. In recent years, the Military Commission and the Army headquarters have put forth in succession a number of documents on orderly ways to work in the strengthening of Army construction. For example, there were "minutes and proceedings" on political construction, "outlines" on construction at grassroots level, and "regulations" on military training. These several basic documents on orderly ways of work summed up experiences in actual practice, centralized the wisdom of the whole Army, and reflected the objective law in Army construction of the new era. They were the products of the integration of our Army's superior traditions and new realities and the products of the integration of leadership and the populace. The problem now is to observe and follow them in a down-to-earth manner and to grasp their fulfillment and implementation. However, certain comrades did not learn them well or grasp these fundamentals. Rather, they would go their own ways. How can we then talk about grasping them well? Since everybody has reflected that they were good "bibles," then both the upper and lower levels should follow them alike and concentrate their efforts on grasping their fulfillment and implementation. Naturally, these rules and regulations can be thoroughly implemented only through integration of the concrete conditions of the various units and through the

leadership organs at various levels and the extensive masses of soldiers engaging in their creative actual practices. What comes from the masses should return to the masses. Only by means of this kind of repetition can we ensure the down-to-earth manner of the work and can we use the new experiences continuously created by the masses to enrich and develop the rules and regulations formulated. Hence, grasping thoroughgoing realization cannot be separated from creativeness. This sort of creativeness and the down-to-earth manner we have stressed are unanimous. The more this creativeness is developed and the more fully it is developed, the more the work of the armed forces will have vim and vitality, be thoroughgoing and down-to-earth, and produce rich results.

Being thoroughgoing and practicable is a very difficult task; without being assiduous in work, there is no possibility of the work being thoroughgoing and down-to-earth. There is no secret formula in this connection. One must be assiduous in thought and painstaking in work. Just to skim the surface of things will not do; taking a short-cut and grasping but not grasping tightly will not do. One must do meticulous, slow, and hard work. Regarding important work, we must grasp it tightly and to the end. In certain units, conditions of the following kind can be frequently seen: Once an assignment comes along, work is started with great eagerness. This is right. Unfortunately, it is also only a gust of wind. Being fast in starting work but equally fast in losing interest in the work, in other words, being tight in the beginning but loose afterwards. In doing our work, we must make the necessary arrangements and at the same time do inspection and supervision work. We must grasp the steps one by one and pass the stages one by one; that is, we must be tenacious and not give up until the work is done and done well. The process of doing thoroughgoing work is not of the vertical type. After the old contradictions have been solved, new problems will crop up. Certain parts of the work may appear to have been completed, only after a while it may be found to be not so. Hence, the problem of being thoroughgoing and practicable must be repeatedly grasped and grasped tightly. In short, being thoroughgoing and practicable in the leadership's style of work is a central problem and one of an important bearing. To what extent the style of our leadership has been improved and whether or not the method of work is scientific will depend to a large extent on the solution of this problem.

VI. Firmly Establish the Viewpoint of the Populace and Wholeheartedly Serve the Grassroots Level and the Soldiers

The method of thinking and the method of work of dialectical materialism are closely linked with our party's viewpoint of the populace and the line or road of the populace. Regarding what was mentioned in the foregoing on conformity of subjectivism with objectivism, control of the whole situation, grasping with two hands, making concrete guidance, being thoroughgoing and down-to-earth, and so forth, all would be empty talk if

we were to deviate from the popular viewpoint and popular line. Therefore, strengthening the popular viewpoint and firmly insisting on the popular line constitute a basic problem in our seeking to improve the style and method of leadership.

So far as the leadership cadres of our armed forces are concerned, setting up the popular viewpoint means firmly setting up the basic viewpoint and the soldiers' viewpoint and truthfully and honestly serving the grassroots level. It is the source of fighting power, and separation from the grassroots level and from the soldiers will deprive army construction of its foundation. Concern with and loving the soldiers, trusting and relying on them, and unanimity between officers and soldiers are the glorious traditions of our armed forces, an important principle in Mao Zedong Thought, and a basic landmark differentiating our Army from all armies of the exploiting class. They are also our Army's political strong points and important features. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed that to take up leadership is to serve. Whom should leadership serve? The grassroots level is the object of our services. In recent years, our Military Commission and the Army Headquarters have done many good deeds and real deeds for the grassroots level and have formulated a series of policies, systems, and concrete measures that show concern for and give preferential treatment to the cadres and soldiers at the grassroots level. Despite the stringent conditions of military expenditures, they have attached importance to slanting them in favor of the grassroots level and have devoted utmost efforts to the solution of many actual problems. In particular, among the armed forces stationed in the border areas, highland and mountainous regions, and isolated islands, despite the difficult environment and conditions the leadership comrades have shared weal and woe with the grassroots-level cadres and soldiers. Relations between the officers and soldiers are extremely pleasant and the spiritual countenance of the forces is very good.

However, it should also be seen that among our leadership cadres and organs the phenomenon of being separated from the grassroots level and from the soldiers still exists and that there is not sufficient thought for the grassroots level or of serving it. Certain leadership organs have done much in "serving themselves," and to the extent of "being served by others." When facing problems at the lower levels, some leadership organs do not try to find the causes from the leadership itself or from the organization itself, but merely resort to criticizing and condemning. Some do not show great concern with the ills and sufferings at the grassroots level and, while their own organs "prosper," they hardly give a thought to alleviating the ills and sufferings at the grassroots level. The main causes of these problems are that certain of our comrades have distanced themselves from the grassroots level and their sentiments for the masses have slackened. During the war years, the environment was very bad and material conditions were exceedingly poor. Why was it that the relations then

between the comrades and the grassroots level were so very pleasant and so close and intimate? Because at the time it was common knowledge that once we deviated from the masses we would have no place to stand and we might lose our skulls. At present, we are in the position of the ruling power and, adding to this the prolonged peaceful environment, the serious consequences of being separated from the masses are not so direct and obvious. Some comrades have felt that distancing themselves from the masses would not produce any feeling of danger and therefore developed the erroneous idea that separating themselves from the masses would not be of much consequence after all. Some comrades believe that the power in their own hands has been given to them by the leadership. They set their eyes on those above, "fearing lack of attention from above but not fearing the dissatisfaction of the masses." In these years, the principle of exchange at equal value and practices in vulgar relationships have caused certain passive effects on relations between our upper and lower levels and the relationship between the officers and men of our armed forces. In addition, proponents of bourgeois liberalization have promoted their special brand of politics which downgraded the role of the masses and this has produced certain effects on us.

We must make a firm determination to resolutely change this tendency of distancing ourselves from the masses and harboring only scant and diluted feelings toward the populace. In the belief of historical materialism, the masses are the main bodies in social practices, the creators of social material wealth and spiritual wealth, and also the fundamental force for realizing social changes and reform. This forms the theoretical basis for our party and armed forces to take wholehearted service to the people as the basic objective, to take the people's line as the basic line of work, and to stress that leadership means rendering service. Our strength comes from the masses, our wisdom likewise comes from the masses, and our thriving enterprises can only be the enterprises of the masses. At the moment, internally we have difficulties while externally the force of pressure is bearing on us. On what do we rely to stabilize the armed forces and the whole situation? In the final analysis, we must depend on the flesh-and-blood relations between the party and the populace. In the prolonged revolutionary struggle, our party and Army met with countless difficulties and impediments, but because we were in the midst of the masses and the people supported us, the myriad difficulties could not overcome us. After the establishment of the Republic, we also met with many setbacks. For example, during the period of the three years' difficulties, natural and human disasters were enormously serious, but the party's cadres at various levels shared weal and woe with the whole people and overcame the difficulties. Now, when we to think of the flesh-and-blood relationship between the party and the people in the past, we still can entertain a touching nostalgia. At present, our conditions are much better than before. If only our 1.1 billion people and our party can be of one heart and soul, no force either inside or outside the

country can molest us and we can sit still in the fishing vessel riding the stormy waves.

To truly serve the grassroots level in heart and soul, it is necessary to firmly insist on taking the road of work of coming from the masses and going to the masses. When we formulate policies, do things, and grasp work, we must obligingly listen to the views of the extensive masses of cadres and soldiers, understand their demands, examine their feelings, and arouse their enthusiasm. The leadership and the organs should take the grassroots level as a mirror and look at it frequently to find out if our work and leadership conform to the realities of the grassroots level and to the wishes of the cadres and soldiers. We must be adept in discovering the insufficiencies and errors in our leadership work from among the problems existing in grassroots-level construction, and promptly make the needed improvements. Before making an important decision, we should particularly attach importance to taking the masses' road. In recent years, many of our important documents have been formulated only after their drafts had gone up and down the official ladder several times, repeatedly solicited comments and views from all sides, and centralized the wisdom of the masses. Our leadership cadres should bear in mind an important point. No matter how good one's talents are, the individual's actual practices, experience, and level of ability, when compared with those of the entire masses of people, are much inferior. Good decisions can come only from many people joining in the making. Only when we confer with each and every constituent member of the leadership team, with the masses of people, and with people who have knowledge, experience, and talent on all sides can a correct decision be made. Leadership comrades must open up the road of speech and ensure the scientific character of decision-making. It spells danger if in the ears of a leadership comrade there are no words of dissent but only words of assent and praise.

To strengthen the popular viewpoint and insist on serving the populace, it is also necessary to firmly struggle against the various kinds of corrupt phenomena. The kinds of corrupt phenomena such as accepting bribes, nepotism, and using power to earn private gains, deviate the most from the masses and are the most hated by people. They are totally incompatible with the party's style of being in close liaison with the people. On this problem, the party Central Committee, the Central Military Commission, and the governments at various levels have all formulated their own regulations and the key problem is that they must be complied with. In the war years, we had a slogan which was "eyes on me" or "follow me." Now we still want to vigorously advocate this same slogan. On this problem of maintaining honesty in work and affairs, our leadership cadres at various levels should dare to say: "All eyes on me" and "follow my example."

Marxism believes that world outlook and methodology are unanimous. Whatever kind of world outlook one possesses dictates the methodology he will have. The style and method of work of a leadership cadre are the

concrete manifestations of his world outlook. And, in the final analysis, the source of the problem of the style and method of work can be traced to the world outlook. Hence, in improving the style and method of leadership, we must devote efforts to transforming the world outlook and consciously overcoming and eradicating the effects of subjectivism, individualism, and metaphysics. At the same time, efforts must be devoted to elevating our theoretical level. High-ranking cadres must read a little of the classical works of Marx, and particularly study and learn well Mao Zedong's and Deng Xiaoping's writings. Elevation of the theoretical level involves a continuous and cumulative process. We must integrate learning of theories and leadership work and summing up of experiences, sturdily insist on simultaneous learning and actual practice, and simultaneous groping and elevating. We must make one's impressive understanding continuously rise to become theoretical understanding and make one's own experiences continuously become systems and theories. Only by so doing can our style of leadership and method of leadership be continuously improved, our leadership level be continuously raised, and can our Army's construction and reform enterprises be pushed forward steadily.

Footnote

1. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 1, p. 50.

Do a Still Better Job in Activities for the Army and the People To Work Together To Build Spiritual Civilization

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[Article by Mass Work Department, General Political Department, People's Liberation Army]

[Text]

1

Activities of jointly building socialist spiritual civilization by the Army and the people, which emerged in the early 1980's, are 10 years old. Over the past decade, with joint efforts by the Army and local authorities, the Army-people joint activities have, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission, flourished and shown their strong vitality. To date, there are 32,169 spots jointly built by the Army and the people. They are scattered around every corner of the country, in urban and rural areas, as well as in various trades. Tens of millions of people have participated in the Army-people joint activities, which have influenced some 100 million people. Consequently, there are numerous fruitful achievements, greatly promoting the development and progress of China's spiritual civilization.

1. Activities of jointly building spiritual civilization by the Army and the people have put an end to longstanding unhealthy tendencies in some localities, and have established new socialist tendencies. For instance, after the troops stationed at Liuyin Street, Beijing, and the people

living there worked together to accomplish tasks, a phenomenon developed whereby people became united and strived to make progress by working hard, so that there was no crime for successive years. This thus formed the "Liuyin new tendency," which exerted great influence on other parts of China. In implementing the Army-people joint activities, the good 8th Company stationed at Nanjing Road, Shanghai, performed their duties in a civilized manner, so that people in the area also did business, offered services, and engaged in production in a civilized manner. The local authorities thus carried forward the glorious tradition of PLA [People's Liberation Army] units, that is, the 8th Company created a strong civilized quality. In the past, there were numerous cases of brawling and conflict along the Sichuan-Tibet transportation line. The situation was sharply changed after the Army and the people jointly participated in activities of jointly building spiritual civilization. There was a period in which there were no major incidents on the route for more than six successive years, thereby breaking the safety record of that route. It was further praised by the Ministry of Transportation and the Sichuan Provincial Transportation Department as a model example. The most prominent point is that they greatly promoted the spirit of Lei Feng in the course of carrying out activities of jointly building spiritual civilization. At present, as many as 10,000 teams have been jointly formed by the Army and the people to emulate Lei Feng. They have worked on various fronts throughout the year and have taken care of orphans and the aged over the past 10 or several score years. Some even insist on providing convenient services to the people and so forth. They are praised by society as a whole. Beginning this year, there developed in Fujian Province a grand campaign "by the Army and the people to jointly emulate Lei Feng, to jointly build socialist spiritual civilization, and to jointly carry forward the spirit of the Gutian Conference." This campaign has quickly exerted an influence on a vast coastal area of southeastern China.

2. Activities of jointly building spiritual civilization by the Army and the people have greatly improved the scientific education level of the Army and local authorities. In implementing such activities, some PLA units stationed in rural areas and at backward villages have helped localities set up schools, evening classes, and so forth, thereby promoting the development of education in the localities. For instance, the "women's evening classes" run by Shuyang County, Jiangsu Province, which were praised by Comrade Kang Keking, former chairman of the All-China Women's Federation, were set up with the assistance of PLA units stationed there. In the more than two years since its establishment, some 450 women became literate and began studying science and technology. The response was a strong reaction across the country. Furthermore, some PLA units helped minority nationalities set up evening classes, [horseback] riding classes [set up for the children of nomads], literacy classes, and so on. Some PLA units stationed in Yunnan and Xinjiang helped minority nationalities establish

more than 250 secondary and primary schools, thereby solving problems of insufficient classes for children. PLA units stationed on the border in Yunnan set up a number of schools in small tents and caves. Classes in those schools were taught by PLA cadres and fighters, so that school-age children living in the war zone could attend classes. The Army-people joint activities have greatly promoted the development of scientific, cultural, and education undertakings in such localities. While helping poverty-stricken areas develop their educational undertakings, PLA units actively help them find ways to get rich. For instance, PLA units stationed in mountainous areas such as Taiheng, Daibei, Jinggangshan, and Yimeng, as well as those in western Hunan, Dingxi in Gansu, Xihai in Ningxia, and so on, have done a lot of work to help many poverty-stricken households in such localities get rid of poverty. At present, more than 110,000 localities (villages) have been designated by the people's armed forces at various levels in the country as targets for getting rid of poverty. Quite a number of them have yielded preliminary achievements, and some 4 million households are no longer poverty-stricken. At the same time, through Army-people joint activities, localities have also made contributions to the work of improving the scientific and educational background of the PLA units. Many local governments that worked together with PLA units in the activities of jointly building spiritual civilization held various college classes as well as forums for the PLA units. Moreover, the Army and local people in many localities jointly ran schools, gave lectures, and sat for the same examinations, so as to cultivate through various forums qualified personnel for the PLA units. Many local universities and colleges conducted academic exchanges with their PLA counterparts, thereby enhancing the teaching level of both sides.

3. Activities of jointly building spiritual civilization by the Army and the people have promoted unity between the Army and government administration, and between the Army and the people. Understanding and the relationship between the Army and the people have been strengthened through Army-people joint activities. In addition, such activities themselves are the most practical and lively education on national defense. Through Army-people joint activities, people strengthen their concepts of national defense and the "two supports"; and they voluntarily take Army-people unity as the major issue with a great bearing on the long-term stability of the country. They cherish Army-people friendship just as they care for their eyes. Both governments and people regard the Army as their sons and brothers; and the Army regards governments and people as their supports. With such thinking, it is easy to settle problems whenever they occur. For instance, to gain access to local water sources, "harmonious water springs" were built in some localities where the Army was in conflict with the local people; and, to gain access to particular sites, "friendship paths" were built in some localities where the Army was in conflict with the local people. Also, through the Army-people joint activities, some localities took on a new face where, previously, even high walls

and wire mesh could not maintain order in the camp areas of PLA units. The masses took the work of maintaining order and facilities in the camp areas as their moral obligation. As a result, there emerged a number of cities and counties, such as Jiamusi, Benxi, Xuzhou, Tonghua, Dalian, Changdao, and Baoding, which did well in promoting Army-people unity and were conferred glorious titles such as "Army-supporting city," "Army-supporting county," and the like.

II

Comrade Mao Zedong once said, "May I ask who can beat an Army that is united with the people as a single person?" This is the truth. Army-people unity is an important guarantee for maintaining stability in the country, and for smooth progress in the socialist modernizations. Without such unity, there would never be stability in the country or peaceful livelihood for the people, nor could we carry out either the rectification and consolidation or an in-depth development in our reforms. Proceeding from the viewpoint of the Army, one must first carry forward the glorious tradition of supporting the Army and cherishing the people, in order to do well in Army-people unity. The essence of such work is to popularize the advanced thinking and outstanding work style of the Army among the masses, while taking lessons from the experience of the masses. Our experience in the activities of jointly building socialist spiritual civilization by the Army and the people over the past decade has proved that such activities are a good way to carry forward the Army's glorious tradition and to do well in Army-people unity.

During the revolutionary war years, the Army always undertook the tasks of fighting, working, and production. It continued to unremittingly propagate Marxism among the masses, as well as the revolutionary truth of national and nationality salvation, even under severe war conditions; so that the people understood the party and Marxism through the actions of the Army. The mentality of the people was thus changed. After PLA units entered a city, the fighters always bore in mind the instructions of Chairman Mao. They acted in a modest, humble, polite, and civilized manner. They neither practiced unhealthy tendencies nor engaged in corruption. The exemplary role played by the PLA exerted great influence on the masses, who took the practice of the PLA units as the prevailing tendency. This thus formed a new work style. In particular, heroes of the PLA such as Zhang Side, Huang Jiguang, Qiu Shaoyun, Dong Cunrui, and Lei Feng, who emerged in various historical periods, radiated the glory of communism, becoming monuments in the hearts of the people, and thereby forming a gigantic spiritual driving force for hundreds of millions of people.

During the new historical period in which the Army supports the government and cherishes the people, the most important point is to continue to give play to the political advantages of the Army so as to turn it into a spiritual force of the whole nation. Activities of jointly

building socialist spiritual civilization are just a product of such work under the new situation. In fighting to defend the motherland, the Army has developed the "Laoshan spirit" of "making China into a strong nation by contributing my youth." While accomplishing key projects and tasks, it has developed the "spirit of diverting the Luan River," that is, striving for "high speed, good quality, and low consumption." In fighting disasters, the Army has developed the selfless spirit of "taking no thought for one's own family when implementing an order, and disregarding one's personal safety though one is in danger." In the struggle to quell the counterrevolutionary riot, the Army developed the life-devoting spirit of "dying a martyr's death," and so forth. There also developed a large number of Lei Feng-type persons such as Zhu Boru, Zhang Zixiang, and Li Ruanhu. These are a centralized manifestation of the Army's political advantages in the new era. These spirits are influencing hundreds of millions of people and inspiring them to make progress. Therefore, we can say that activities of jointly building socialist spiritual civilization by the Army and the people have turned and will continue to turn the Army's political advantages into a spiritual force of the whole nation. Just as pointed out in the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee Regarding the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization," China's PLA is a steel great wall that defends the motherland, as well as an important force for the construction of the motherland. It is an Army with a high level of ideological awareness, good morality, and strict discipline. It has a profound influence on the mentality of the whole nation.

Activities of jointly building socialist spiritual civilization by the Army and the people are also a significant way to strengthen the Army's own political construction and to guarantee perpetual qualification in terms of politics. In strengthening the political construction of the Army, we must rely on powerful ideological and political work within the Army and depend on the support and assistance of localities. In terms of ideology, the Army has always carried out education among the masses. During the revolutionary war years, the unremitting spirit of the masses in fighting against suppression and exploitation by the landlord class, and their selfless spirit of supporting and devoting themselves to the Army were often educational lectures for fighters and commanders. These lectures enlightened their class awareness and encouraged their revolutionary spirit, so that the Army firmly established its belief in removing the three huge mountains and liberating the whole country. Following the founding of the state, the Army enriched the content of its political work by drawing lessons from the masses and society. This thus widened its path of conducting political education. Many heroes and model personalities such as Liu Hulan, Rong Guanyu, Jiao Yulu, and Wang Jinxi emerged in localities and became glorious models for the Army's cadres and fighters. They exerted profound influence on the political construction, as well as production, of the Army. Since officials and soldiers of the Army come from every corner of the country, they

are tied to society in a hundred and one ways. The Army itself also lives among the masses. Under the circumstances of reform and opening up, it is inevitable that the emergence of new situations, new things, new moral standards, new tendencies, and various kinds of thinking in society will affect PLA units through different channels, bringing both positive and negative influences on their construction and production. This requires us to strengthen the political construction of PLA units and to improve their political quality. It requires us to rely not only on the work of educating PLA units, but also on the work of educating society. The development of Army-people joint activities is precisely to meet this need for political construction in the Army under the new situation. It provides us with a base that offers an infinite source of political nourishment for the political construction of PLA units. In terms of cultural construction, it carries out education on science and culture and improves the scientific and educational background of the Army, thereby cultivating a new generation of highly educated military personnel. This is also an important task for building a socialist, modern, and revolutionized Army marked by Chinese characteristics. To improve the education level of PLA units simply by relying on its own efforts is far from enough. Instead, it needs support from society in terms of knowledge. Only thus can its officials and soldiers acquire more knowledge about science and culture not found in their camps. Thus, the composition of knowledge in the PLA units will be arranged in the best way, and its education and training quality will be improved. Therefore, the Army-people joint activities bring benefits to both the state and the Army. If we insist on doing it in this way, we shall greatly promote the construction of socialist spiritual civilization in China. It is also just because of such positive influence on the PLA units and localities, as well as encouragement, by the Army-people joint activities, that there have emerged in every corner of the country different forms of activities, such as activities of working together between the police and the people, between industry and agriculture, between factories and their neighborhoods, and between cadres and the masses.

III

It was pointed out in the document "Several Questions Regarding the Work of Strengthening and Improving the Army's Political Work Under the New Situation," transmitted late last year by the CPC Central Committee to the PLA General Political Department, that we must "continue to carry out Army-people joint activities and help local authorities do well in the building of socialist spiritual civilization." According to our experience over the past decade, we must do well in the following tasks in order to push to a higher plane the activities of jointly building socialist spiritual civilization by the Army and the people.

1. To further clarify guiding ideology for the Army-people joint activities. It was pointed out in the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee Regarding the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization"

that "the basic task of building socialist spiritual civilization is to meet the needs of socialist modernization; to cultivate socialist citizens who have goals, stress ethics, are educated, and observe discipline; and to improve the quality of thinking and standards of morality, as well as scientific and cultural education, of the whole Chinese nation." This is also the guiding principle for Army-people joint activities. In the Army-people joint activities, the Army must continue to take ideological and political work as the general principle and devote major efforts to strengthening political construction. Specifically, first, the PLA units must enthusiastically work together with their partners and must unremittingly educate soldiers and the masses, particularly youths, in upholding the four cardinal principles, in upholding the practice of reform and opening up, and in fighting against bourgeois liberalization; educate them in patriotism, collectivism, socialism, self-reliance, and struggle against hardship, and educate them in the revolutionary tradition. Second, the PLA units must propagate the party's principles and policies and educate people in Marxism, so as to enhance their ideological and moral quality. They must mobilize their positive factors to publicize new models and new deeds, and guide the people to draw a clear line of demarcation between good and evil, beauty and ugliness, and honor and disgrace. They must place in a prominent position public opinions that are beneficial to the progress of society, thereby forming a force for binding and standardizing the actions of the people. They should propagate patriotism in forms that are popular among the people, and propagate heroes who devoted their lives to the liberation cause of the Chinese nation, so that their examples will influence later generations and will encourage people to emulate their deeds, to follow their footsteps, and to score heroic achievements. Third, they must resolutely eliminate the "six evils," and insist on opposing national nihilism, as well as historical nihilism, which totally negate the Chinese traditional culture, and the thinking of having a blind faith in foreign things. They should use socialist ideology to occupy the ideological and cultural fronts, and actively encourage the masses to voluntarily boycott the influence of all kinds of erroneous and corrupt thinking. They should cultivate a scientific, healthy, and civilized lifestyle, so that they will truly become aggressive socialist laborers and construction workers.

2. To overcome ideological obstacles in the PLA units that are detrimental to the in-depth development of the activities of jointly building spiritual civilization by the Army and the people.

At present, there are two kinds of ideological obstacles.

First, some people take the Army-people joint activities as their "extra burden." Some comrades hold that the building of spiritual civilization by the Army and the people is work to which the PLA units contribute efforts and from which localities gain benefits. Therefore, they do a little work whenever the upper levels stress such activities; and simply ignore the work whenever the

upper levels give little attention to such matters. Consequently, Army-people joint activities are active at one time and then become relaxed at another. This is one-sided and shortsighted thinking. To help localities and the masses do well in ideological and cultural work is an essential requirement and a manifestation of the Army that is the People's Army. It is also an important integral part of the Army's work of carrying out the party's political tasks. Therefore, under no circumstances should the joint building of spiritual civilization by the Army and the people be an extra burden for the PLA units. Rather, it is an obligation of PLA units. In addition, both the Army and localities, and both the Army and the people contribute efforts to and gain benefits from the joint activities. It is simply not a kind of work in which the PLA units are in an unfavorable position. To a certain extent it is the PLA units that gain more benefits. On the one hand, the PLA units draw ample lessons from the joint activities in terms of politics and scientific and cultural knowledge, thereby enhancing the quality of the fighters in such areas. On the other hand, through the joint activities, contacts between the Army and localities and those between the Army and the people became frequent, thereby promoting mutual understanding between the two parties. Thus, it becomes easier for the PLA units to get support and assistance in their work from the local governments and the masses, and a better external environment is created for the construction of PLA units. In many localities where there have been achievements in Army-people joint activities, both the local governments and the masses care about more and give more support and assistance to PLA units. While some of them voluntarily help PLA units plow their fields, some voluntarily help them solve difficulties and make employment arrangements for the relatives and children of PLA units. Some support PLA units in their military training. Some voluntarily offer sites and raw materials to PLA units for production purposes. Therefore, the PLA units solve numerous difficulties which would otherwise remain unsettled by their own efforts. By proceeding from this viewpoint, one may say that, if the activities of jointly building spiritual civilization by the Army and the people are done well, the work of PLA units will be smoothly carried out.

Second, the tendency has developed in Army-people joint activities of stressing economic exchanges while ignoring the building of spiritual civilization. Some PLA units stress the building of spiritual civilization when they are in camp, but stress economic benefits when dealing with localities. Some even take profitability as the sole criterion for selecting the advanced models in such activities. In order to get quick results, a phenomenon has developed whereby rich activities are preferred over poor ones, and those available in the vicinity are preferred over those located far away. Some take such activities as their best opportunities to pursue economic benefits. As a result, they work only when they get benefits; otherwise, they do nothing. Certain parts of their programs are so broad that miscellaneous tasks

such as planting trees, building paths, donating money, and having meals together are regarded as included in such joint activities. It is simply the case that everyone can see that "Army-people joint activities are a container capable of holding everything." Therefore, this causes Army-people joint activities to lose their basic standing point and starting point on the basis of which they are carried out. The core of such activities has already been clarified and confirmed though the content of the activities is rich, that is, to jointly do well in the building of spiritual civilization under the guidance of Marxism. It was clearly pointed out in the "Decision Regarding Political Work in the Army in the New Period" by the Central Military Commission that "in the Army-people joint building, we must propagate the four cardinal principles as well as the party's principles and policies, and disseminate new moral trends; and we must propagate legal knowledge, assist local authorities in educating youth, maintaining social order, and disseminating science and technology knowledge; and we must assist the masses in enlivening and improving their cultural life." Of course, it is inevitable that, in carrying out Army-people joint activities, the PLA units will participate in building certain hardware of spiritual civilization. For instance, they will take part in the construction of certain facilities, cultural centers, and so forth, that serve the building of spiritual civilization. At the same time, the PLA units must devote major efforts to supporting the local authorities' economic construction. To a certain extent, such work is linked to their ideological work. Though certain types of work themselves reflect the mentality of the Army and the people and play an exemplary role for the masses, these types of work are different from the building of spiritual civilization, and we must not become confused. We must not replace the building of spiritual civilization with that of material civilization, and still less allow such thinking of only pursuing short-term and economic benefits to undermine the activities of jointly building spiritual civilization by the Army and the people.

3. To handle well the relations between the Army leadership and the leadership of local authorities, and the relations between the joint activities and other types of work of the Army. In carrying out joint activities, both the Army and localities must take the leadership of the local party committees and of the local governments as the major party. This is one of our party's traditions, as well as an important organizational principle. The Army-people joint activities are an important integral part of the building of spiritual civilization for the whole people. Those joint activities by the Army and the people must be done under the centralized leadership of the local party committees and the local governments. They must be in harmony with other types of work undertaken by such local authorities. Only thus can we proceed from the actual situation, solve very urgent problems, and achieve the best results. The practice of upholding the leadership of local authorities also helps us maintain the continuity and stability of the joint activities, so that such activities will be constantly consolidated and

improved. There should be leading groups for the Army-people joint activities, headed by comrades from the local authorities. Activities of the groups should match the key work of the localities in question. The form and approach of conducting such activities should be determined by judging from the objective conditions of such localities. In upholding the leadership of local authorities, the PLA units must voluntarily submit themselves to the centralized leadership of the local party committees and the local governments. They must promptly request instructions from the local authorities and report to them their work of joint activities. They must take an active attitude in proposing ideas and suggestions. The subject of the Army-people joint activities is the masses. In carrying out such activities, we must aim mainly at mobilizing the masses to run the activities for themselves. The content of the activities must conform to the wishes of the masses, so as to help the masses educate themselves. All activities of joint building must be conducted on the basis of volunteerism and self-motivation among the masses.

In order to handle well the relations between the Army-people joint activities and other types of work of the Army, we must pay attention to the exemplary role of such activities. Because of restrictions of special tasks and conditions undertaken by the PLA units, it is impossible for them to undertake too much work for local authorities. We must place the Army-people joint activities in a proper position, and must not replace all types of work concerning the masses by the joint building. The main purpose of the PLA units taking part in the joint activities is to influence the masses and educate themselves through their good image and construction. Therefore, they should act according to the remarks made by Yang Shangkun, vice chairman of the Central Military Commission. That is, by upholding the principle of utilizing sources available in the vicinity, they should strive to do well in the local mass work, should try their best to conduct the joint activities with their nearby units, and should devote major efforts to building some civilized venues as examples for others. This thus requires us to appropriately readjust the existing venues of the Army-people joint activities. First, under the prerequisite of seeking a common understanding between the Army and the local authorities, the Army may consider giving up venues of joint activities which are located far from the camps, are inaccessible, or only yield few results despite great efforts, so that it may devote major efforts to doing well in such activities in its vicinity. Second, the Army may develop more venues of such joint activities by gradually improving and popularizing such activities from such venues at nearby sites to venues farther away, so that all places surrounding the Army site will become civilized.

The building of socialist spiritual civilization is a grand systems engineering task requiring us to work arduously in order to achieve it, to depend on a strong sense of responsibility in order to study, and to work continuously in order to uphold consistency. We have made

fruitful studies in such areas in Army-people joint activities. Now, we need both the Army and localities to make concerted efforts, sum up their experience, and overcome their deficiencies, so as to enhance to a higher plane the activities of jointly building socialist spiritual civilization by the Army and the people, and to make more contributions for the stability and development of the state.

The Principle of the 'Masses Being the Creators of History' Brooks No Denial

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[Article by Wei Shi (7279 1395)]

[Text] Who are the creators of history? To this question, the materialist view of history and the idealist view of history give two basically opposite answers.

All idealist views of history deny the decisive role of the masses. Rather, they use different forms to play up the heroic view of history and see the masses as "inactive" and "passive" and just "blind followers" of a small number of heroic figures.

Marxism has scientifically resolved the question of the role of the masses in history for the first time in the history of mankind and holds that the history of social development is primarily a history of the development of the production of material goods, and that the masses are the main entities in material production modes. The masses are the creators of material wealth and the spiritual wealth of society, and are the decisive force in social change. Thus, they are the creators of social history. This is a basic principle of Marxism which everyone knows and which is deeply impressed in everyone's mind. However, since 1984, Comrade Li Shu [7812 3412] has successively published articles (including an interview entitled "Respect History, Break Down Dogma" in the 1988, No. 4 issue of QIUSHI) in which he has expressed doubts about this and come to the conclusion that this statement is wrong, and that it is not the original intention of the authors of the classics. As Comrade Li Shu is a well-known scholar, and as he has negated a basic principle, this has naturally elicited a strong response. While quite a few people have echoed his view, a greater number have felt perplexed and even experienced ideological confusion. People will not forget the contributions made in the historiographical sphere by Comrade Li Shu, a veteran of the historiographical circles, and I myself have great respect for him. However, I dare not readily subscribe to his view which denies that the masses are the creators of history, and I believe that there is a need to further clarify the issue.

I. Is "the Masses are the Creators of History" a Basic Principle of Marxism or Not?

One of the bases of Comrade Li Shu's claim is: The formulation "the masses are the creators of history" was first put forward in 1939 by the Soviet philosopher

Eugene. "This claim was never made by Marx, Engels, or Lenin."¹ Thus, he holds, we cannot say that this is a basic principle of Marxism.

In order to clarify this major question of right and wrong, I believe that first we have to demonstrate whether or not this was a basic viewpoint of the authors of the Marxist classics. Second, we have to see whether or not they have made any corresponding expositions. Only in this way will we be adopting a scientific attitude. If we persist with this scientific attitude, we will be able to come to a firm conclusion.

In 1844, in their book *The Holy Family*, Marx and Engels proceeded from the viewpoint that the production of material goods is the source of history, refuted the Bauer brothers' idealist view of history, which despised the masses, and provided a deep-going exposition on the great historical role of the masses. The Bauer gang greatly stressed the role of self-awareness and played down the significance of material production. They asserted that "the workers have not created anything," and that the work of workers is "individual work intended to satisfy their personal needs." They felt that only their own "critical criticism" had meaning. In direct response, Marx and Engels pointed out: "Critical criticism creates nothing, *the worker create everything*, and so much so that even his intellectual creations put the whole of criticism to shame; the English and the French workers provide proof of this." (Emphasis added by me—same below.)² Please note that they state very clearly that "*the worker create everything*."

Not only this, but Marx and Engels elaborated further, saying, "*The activities and thoughts in history are 'mass' thoughts and activities.*" "*Historical activities are mass undertakings*, and, following the deepening of historical activities, there will inevitably be an expansion of the masses' ranks."³ If we think about this, if Marx and Engels saw the thoughts and activities of history to be mass thoughts and activities, and history to be a mass undertaking—in their minds, if the creators of this history were not the masses, who were they? Is it not logical and reasonable to come to the conclusion that "the masses are the creators of history"?

In their criticism of Carlyle, the idealist worshipper of heroes, we can again see similar statements by Marx and Engels. They point out that, in Carlyle's view, "*the entire process of history is not determined by the development of the vibrant masses themselves*, (who are naturally influenced by certain conditions which are produced and changed by history)."⁴ This, through the form of the negation of the negation, is an affirmation of the role of the masses in creating history.

In the article "Necessary and Superfluous Social Classes," Engels pointed out, "Since the emergence of classes, there has never been any society which has been able to exist without a laboring class... Regardless of what changes occur in the upper strata of society which do not engage in production, *without a producer class*,

society cannot exist. Thus this class is necessary in all situations, even though one day it will include the entire society."⁵ From this quotation, we can see how important was the position which Engels assigned to the existence of the laboring class.

In response to the error by which the idealist view of history exaggerated the motive role of outstanding persons, Engels pointed out, "If we explore the final motive of historical development, from the angle of the ideological motives of people's actions, 'then it should be stressed that it is not a question so much of the motives of single individuals, however eminent, as of those motives that set in motion great masses, whole peoples and again whole classes of the people in each nation.'"⁶ That is to say, the final motive of historical development is manifested through the activities of the broad masses and is reflected through the ideological motives of the broad masses.

The masses are the decisive force in changing society. The replacement of slave society by feudal society and the replacement of feudal society by capitalist society both depended on the masses. When talking about the proletarian revolution, Engels pointed out, "In 17th-century England and 18th-century France, even the most brilliant achievements of the bourgeoisie were not achieved by themselves, but achieved by the masses of ordinary people, the workers and peasants."⁷ As to the force relied on when socialism replaced capitalism, everyone knows whose force that was.

Below, let us have a look at Lenin's expositions. Lenin, in an assessment of the materialist view of history established by Marx and Engels, pointed out, "Because the materialist view of history had been discovered, it has eliminated two major shortcomings in past historical theory. First, in historical theory in the past, at most the ideological motives of historical activities were investigated, but there was no study into the causes of these motives. Second, historical theory in the past did not explain the activities of the masses."⁸ This appraisal is, of course, to the point and also scientific. As to Lenin himself, he not only completely inherited Marx and Engels' ideas on the masses being the creators of history, but also propagated, safeguarded, and developed this brilliant principle, and some of his expositions were even more clear-cut. For example, in his article "Karl Marx," after repeating Marx's words that "the people themselves create their own history," he stressed "*the people are the masses*."⁹ In his article "The Heritage We Renounce," he said, "As man's history-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population that is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase."¹⁰ He was criticizing the Narodniks for never putting forward the "conditions for the independent and conscious activity of these history-makers," "*the masses*." Please note that here Lenin is clearly stating that the masses are the creators of history!

As to the final decisive role of the masses in history, Lenin expressed himself more incisively in a report:

"Only a minority of people have outstanding intellectual qualities, but it is the broad masses who determine the outcome of history. If this minority of people does not accord with the masses, the masses are sometimes not too polite to them."¹¹

The October Revolution, which Lenin led, for the first time transformed the ideals of socialism into a reality. On the day the October Revolution erupted, in the same way that Marx highly appraised the members of the Paris Commune, Lenin ardently and sincerely praised the Russian masses for their dynamism and great strength in creating history. He asserted, "The vibrant creativity of the masses is the basic element of the new society.... Vibrantly creative socialism has been created by the masses themselves." "*Only persons who trust the people and only persons who throw themselves into the wellspring of the vibrant creativity of the people will be able to obtain victory and maintain political power.*"¹² In his view, "*the entire new epoch for Russia depends entirely upon the enthusiasm of the people both for its attainment and for its maintenance.*" "*The reason our revolution was a great Russian revolution is because it mobilized the broad masses of the people to participate in an undertaking of creation which was of historical significance.*"¹³

There is no need to cite further examples. The facts prove that, on the principle of "the masses being the creators of history," Marx and Engels put forward formulations very similar to that formulation, while Lenin expressed the idea in almost precisely those words. This was certainly the opinion of the authors of the classics and not something created by Eugene. We can see that the basis of Comrade Li Shu's claims will not stand up to examination and is untenable. What puzzles people is why Comrade Li Shu read but ignored the irrefutable expositions we have quoted above.

II. Do the Masses Only Provide a "Stage" or a "Source"?

The reason Comrade Li Shu denies that the "masses are the creators of history" is not, it seems, because he was unable to find any basis to support this in the classics, but because of his mistaken appraisal of the position and role of the masses in historical development. He believes that the masses only provided a "stage" or a "source," and thus we cannot say that "the masses are the creators of history."

Marxism tells us that the history of mankind is primarily a history of the production of material goods and that people must first resolve the problems of food, clothing, and accommodation before being able to engage in political, scientific, artistic, and religious activities. If any nation does not produce for a number of consecutive weeks, it will be unable to continue to survive. Thus, the production of material goods is the first historical activity of people, and is their most basic, decisive activity in creating history. The production of material goods relies on the masses. This is the prime basis on

which the authors of the classics asserted that "the masses are the creators of history."

However, Comrade Li Shu believes that the above understanding is a distortion of Marxism. In his view, the production of material wealth in which the masses engage is simply "a precondition for creating history." This "precondition is the economic conditions formed by the productive forces and means of production in society at that time. It can be likened to a stage, as without the stage, one cannot put on a play." "However, the stage cannot determine which play will be performed or which characters will appear within the scope allowed by the material conditions it provides. We can see that it is a mistake to consider the stage to be the play."¹⁴ That is to say, in the view of Comrade Li Shu, the production activities, whereby the masses create material goods, only provide the stage for the historical play and is not the content of the historical play. In other words, the production activities by which the masses create material goods is not real "history." He feels that it was completely wrong for us to see this as "history" in the past, and that the mistake was as absurd as "taking the stage to be the play." Here, people will want to ask: Is it logically possible to say that the most basic historical activities and the most decisively significant historical activities are not to be considered "history"? If we eliminate these, what history is there left to speak of?

After the masses provide the stage, do they then have no further relationship with the history continually occurring in the various spheres? Do the masses have nothing to do with which play is acted on the stage, or who appears on stage, and are they therefore insignificant? In fact, regardless of whether we speak of slave society, feudal society, or capitalist society, the masses are both "stage-builders" and "performers." In the slave uprisings in Roman Sicily, in the great slave uprisings in Sparta, in the successive peasant uprisings in China such as those led by Chen Sheng and Wu Guang, Huang Chao, Li Zicheng, and so on, did not these insurrectionary heroes and the forces they led act in powerful historical dramas time after time? They were both "playwrights" and "characters." The German classical philosopher and objective idealist Hegel also recognized this historical phenomenon. "In Hegel's view, walking on the stage of world history were not only heroes, not solely individuals, but a whole group of people...the scope of activities to which the people's power extends is extremely broad."¹⁵ Of course, in history, the masses have often been in the position of the ruled. However, they have also frequently arisen and overthrown the rulers, forcing some people to step down off the stage and others to newly mount the stage. Whether they conformed to or violated the interests and hopes of the masses is where the crux lay in determining whether or not rulers could continue to maintain their rule. Who was it that overthrew the rule of the Qin dynasty? Who forced the Emperor Chongzhen to commit suicide by hanging himself? Who sent Louis XVI to the guillotine? If we look at modern Chinese history, we can also ask who overthrew the rule

of the Qing court? Who drove out the Japanese imperialists? Who overturned the three great mountains and established socialist New China?... If the masses only provided the "stage" and did not participate in the "performance," would such scenes have occurred in history? If we exclude from the stage the hundreds of millions of the masses who are "performing" on the stage, then the changes in history and the supersession and replacement of social forms would become inconceivable.

From this, we can see that, while the "stage theory" used by Comrade Li Shu negates the idea that "the masses are the creators of history," it is at the same time unconvincing.

The materialist view of history affirms another basis for claiming that "the masses are the creators of history": The social practice of the masses is the source of all science, culture, and art and, at the same time, the masses are the creators of the spiritual wealth of society.

On this point, Comrade Li Shu also has a different opinion from us. In his view, this claim "has insufficient basis and presents problems on the logical level." Such an argument actually involves seeing the "source" as doing the "creating," and thus must take over the creation of all spiritual wealth (however, the source often just provides the primary form and cannot replace all creation). In this way, it denies the contribution of all high-level real creators of scientific, cultural, and artistic works—the scientists, the thinkers, and the artists."¹⁶

Who is right and who is wrong? When deciding this, we need to look at the following two points:

1. The source itself indeed creates, and what it does create are not just primary forms of creation. For example, our country's outstanding classical literature work *Chu Ci* was written by drawing in a large volume of the folk songs and ballads of the people of that time. Han poetry, Tang poetry, Song poetry, and Yuan verses were all written by developing the essence of popular folk literature. *Outlaws of the Marsh*, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, and *Journey to the West* were improved and written down on the basis of oral folk tales. The *Compendium of Materia Medica* and other ancient medical texts were summaries of the experiences of the masses in their struggles against illness and disease. *Qimin Yaoshu* and other ancient works on agriculture were summaries of the explorations of the people in agriculture and in raising animals and fowl. Much spiritual wealth was also directly created by the laboring masses. This includes, for example, mankind's earliest knowledge of astronomy, geography, and mathematics, rich and diverse architecture, carving and painting, the exquisite carvings and murals in the grottoes of Dunhuang, the carvings of Yungang, Longmen, and other places, the moving songs collected in the *Shijing*, the huge Tibetan epic *Ge-sa-er*, the breathtaking gardens and architecture of China, as well as all sorts of handicrafts

and arts. The creators of all of these were some undefined members of the masses, whose names have not come down to us. Can we say that these creations were but primary forms of creation? Can we say that the masses just provided the "source" for these?

2. The creators of the great ideological achievements, scientific discoveries, and artistic works that constitute man's spiritual wealth in history should come within the category of the masses. It should be noted that "the masses" is a specific historical concept and its extension is far broader than the concept of the masses usually spoken of. Also, in history, many famous scientists and artists came from the masses! Bi Sheng, China's inventor of movable type in the Song dynasty; Huang Daopo, the female textile technologist of the Yuan dynasty; and in Europe and the United States, Watt, the discoverer of the steam engine; Edison, the inventor of electric lights, film, and the gramophone; the materialist philosopher Dietzgen; the great scientist and thinker Luomeng-nuo-suo-fu; and the great writer Gorkiy—all of these people were born into the families of ordinary laborers. Of course, quite a number of thinkers, scientists, and artists were not born into the families of ordinary laborers. However, which Marxist work restricts the masses just to ordinary laborers? The principle that "the masses are the creators of history" intrinsically includes these people, too. Comrade Li Shu places these creators of spiritual wealth outside the masses and places them above the masses. This is not rational.

III. Can We Use "History Is the History of Everyone and All Persons Participate in the Creation of History" To Replace "The Masses Are the Creators of History"?

Everyone knows that the meaning of the basic principle that "the masses are the creators of history" is: Of all the people who participate in historical activities, the masses have a decisive influence on the development of history and the masses are the decisive force in pushing history forward.

However, Comrade Li Shu has made a "new" discovery. He holds that when Marx and Engels noted that "the people themselves create their own history," the term "the people" referred to all people. The word "create" in the original English and Russian means "make" and "no later persons said that, in historical development, they play a decisive role. Marx and Engels clearly believed that all people make their own history. The producers of material goods, the laborers, and the people of all countries make their own history. Those who do not produce material goods, the non-laboring masses, and the rulers of various countries also make their own history. We cannot say that all history is created by the producers of material goods, the laborers, and the people of the various countries, while the non-laboring masses and the rulers of the various countries do not participate in the creation of history. This is not the original meaning of Marx and Engels and does not agree with the facts."¹⁷ If we put forward the statement that "the masses are the creators of history" to mean that "the masses make all

history," then "we are saying that all-encompassing history is created by a solitary, singular force." That is, it is created by the masses and this, "on the one hand gives them unwarranted glory and, on the other hand, requires them to assume unwarranted blame."¹⁸

However, on the basis of my experiences, we do not find the following assertion in any real Marxist-Leninist work: All-encompassing history is created by the solitary, singular force of the masses. All glory belongs to the masses and all blame belongs to the masses. There is no such assertion to be found anywhere. None whatsoever! Not only is this not to be found in the Marxist-Leninist works, but even in China's feudal history, *Shiji*, the crimes of the Qin emperor are not shifted on to Chen Sheng and Wu Guang. The actions of Yuan Shikai in his history of national betrayal were crimes committed by Yuan Shikai himself. The struggle against the British by the people of Sanyuanli were glorious actions by the people of Sanyuanli themselves. Hitler, Tojo Hideki, and Mussolini were the chief criminals of World War II.

The peoples of Germany, Japan, and Italy were victims of the war and were also the people who buried them. They have never been spoken of together. Marxism-Leninism and the materialist view of history stress class analysis, which allows the clarifying of blurred and confusing aspects of society, and the sorting out of complex social phenomena. How can he not talk even about this rudimentary difference? If there were not this basic difference, the materialist view of history would not be the materialist view of history and Marxism would not be Marxism.

Who was it then who put forward this inference? It was none other than Comrade Li Shu himself. It was he who understood the term "create history" to mean "make history" and from this he inferred that the formulation "the masses are the creators of history" means that "the masses make all history." It was he who placed a scientific principle in front of a distorting mirror, deformed it, and then gave it back to the people to look at: See! This principle is so preposterous. It really is not worth taking pains to uphold!¹⁹

What, in the end, is Comrade Li Shu saying? He claims that he does not agree with the statement that "the masses are the creators of history," nor agree with the statement that "heroes are the creators of history," but rather feels that we should replace the formulation "the masses are the creators of history" with "history is the history of everyone, and all persons participate in the creation of history."²⁰ This is Comrade Li Shu's basic stand on this question.

If, in accordance with Comrade Li Shu's understanding, we take "creating history" to mean "making history," then as all people participate in historical activities, we can see that all people are the "creators" of history. The problem lies in whether or not the aims, measures, avenues, and roles of these people in their "creation" can be spoken of together. Can the value of the "creation" of

all people be seen as equal? Certainly, all people participate in historical activities and all people play a role in history. However, this is a historical idea and behind this idea exist contradictions, differences, and patterns. The task of the science of history is to reveal the contradictions and differences that are hidden, as well as their patterns. The science of history requires that we answer the following: Who are the promoters of progress in history and who are the reactionary forces? Who plays a major role and who plays a minor role? Who plays a decisive role and who plays a subsidiary role? Who are the main people in history? What is the motive force in historical development? And so on. Thereby, the targets for eulogizing and the targets for castigation can be ascertained, the answers can guide us in the present and the future and in transforming the world, and can assist mankind in more quickly progressing toward an ideal world. The proposition "the masses are the creators of history" properly completes this task. Regardless of whether we speak of the past or the present, not every class, strata, group, or individual plays a role as a promoter of progress in all stages of history and at all times. There are certainly opposing forces, stumbling blocks, parasites, and bloodsuckers who obstruct the advance of history. If we also call these decadent and reactionary historical activities "creation," or "crown" them with the title of "creation," will this not be sullying and tarnishing the term "creators"? If we consider these so-called "creators" equals with the masses and give them equal status, will there remain any distinction between right and wrong in history? Will there be any difference between righteousness and evil or between progress and regression? If we talk about these so-called "activities of creation" and "creators" as one with the broad masses, will this not be a depreciation and blackening of the decisive role played by the masses in creating history? Thus, if we use the formulation "history is the history of everyone and all persons participate in the creation of history" to replace "the masses are the creators of history," it will only blur the basic dividing line between the materialist view of history and all old views of history, and obscure the value of the overall revolutionary change of the materialist view of history. Thus, this will be regression from science back to confusion, from deep-going investigation back to superficiality, and from Marxism back to the period before Marxism. Thereby, it will be impossible to scientifically explain history or the present.

The essence of our difference with Comrade Li Shu does not lie in whether or not to recognize that all people participate in historical activities. The question is what types of activities do these people engage in? Undoubtedly, all sorts of people leave their marks in history. The question is what sort of mark do they leave? People all play a role in history. The question is what sort of role do they play? The views of Comrade Li Shu precisely obscure these essential differences.

"The masses are the creators of history" is a basic principle of Marxism, not, as Comrade Li Shu suggests,

"an ossified, historical formula."²¹ Denying that the masses are the creators of history basically negates historical materialism and basically negates history. It was on the basis of this scientific principle and on the basis of a correct understanding of the great force of the masses, the great role played by the masses, and the historical position of the masses that our party formulated the mass line of doing everything for the masses, relying on the masses for everything, coming from the masses, and going to the masses. Our Communist Party members have, apart from the interests of the people, no special interests. Respecting this mass line, our party mobilized and led the people in overthrowing the three great mountains, in establishing New China, and in achieving world-recognized socialist achievements. At present, we are struggling to realize the four socialist modernizations. We face many difficulties, challenges, and tests. But these are not to be feared. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "As long as we can grasp the science of Marxism-Leninism, trust in the masses, and tightly align ourselves with the masses and lead them forward, we will be able to transcend all obstacles and overcome all difficulties, and our power will be invincible."²²

This is where our faith, strength, and hopes lie and also the reason why we today adhere to the principle that "the masses are the creators of history."

Footnotes

1. Li Shu: *On the Creation of History and Other Things*, Hunan People's Publishing House, September 1988, p. 5.
2. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, pp. 22, 21.
3. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, pp. 103, 104.
4. *Ibid.*, Volume 7, p. 306.
5. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p. 315.
6. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 245.
7. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 18, p. 325.
8. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 586.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 463.
11. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 4, p. 635.
12. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 26, pp. 269, 273.
13. *Ibid.*, Volume 10, pp. 367, 479.
14. Li Shu: *On the Creation of History and Other Things*, Hunan People's Publishing House, September 1988, p. 6.

15. Cited from *Selections From Plekhanov's Historical Works*, Volume 1, pp. 500-501, Joint Publishing Press, 1962 edition.

16. Li Shu: *On the Creation of History and Other Things*, Hunan People's Publishing House, September 1988, p. 7.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

22. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 4, p. 1,156.

Readjust the Pattern of National Income Distribution

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[Article by Zhou Fuxiang (0719 1381 4382), assistant researcher Economic Research Center, State Planning Commission]

[Text]

I

In the 10 years of the reform of the economic structure, the pattern of distribution of the national income has made notable changes, from the past centralized distribution by the state to distribution by policy at many levels, and from relative centralization to the considerable dispersal of financial power. A problem worthy of note is the distribution pattern being overly slanted to favor individual residents.

Seen from the composition of income distribution, over the past 10 years the changes in the composition between the state, enterprise, and individual have been as follows: 1) A drastic reduction in the centralized financial power of the state. In 1978, the financial income of the state in our country (not including receipts from external loans) occupied a ratio of 31.2 percent of the GNP, by 1988 it had dropped to 17.5 percent. In 10 years' time, the state's centralized financial strength dropped by 14 percent. 2) A comparatively sizable increase in the funds retained by the enterprise units. In 1988 the financial strength of the enterprise units already amounted to 91.2 percent of the funds inside the state budget, whereas in 1978 it had been only 31 percent. The ratio occupied by extrabudgetary funds in the GNP also rose from 9.7 percent in 1978 to 16.2 percent in 1988. 3) A sharp increase in the income of the residents. The ratio occupied by the monetary income of urban and rural residents in our country in the GNP rose from 45.2 percent in 1978 to 59.2 percent in 1984 and further to 63.4 percent in 1988, an increase of 18 percent in 10 years. Besides monetary income, the income of residents also

includes social welfare. In 10 years, the scale of increase in social welfare expenditures was also rather considerable.

The causes for the appearance of such enormous changes in the composition of the income of the state, enterprise, and individual and for the distribution of the national income overly slanting to the side of the individual are, first of all, a result of the great changes occurring in the first distribution of the national income. Of the material wealth newly created by the state-run enterprises, the portions distributed to individual staff members and workers and retained by the enterprise have been increasing daily. Since 1987, state-run enterprises have carried out the contracted operational responsibility system, enforced the linking of salaries and wages to the economic effects, and stipulated that the ratio of the linking between compensation and effects should not exceed 1:0.3-0.7, that is, in order to prevent or check the excessive increase in the income of the enterprise and the individual, if the profits delivered to the state or realized profits should increase by 1 percent, the increase in salaries, wages, and bonuses should not exceed 0.3-0.7 percent. But the results in actual operation were the ratio of the link between wages and effects had greatly exceeded the ratio stipulated by the policy and caused salaries and wages to encroach on the profit. In more recent years, as a result of the rise in commodity prices, the real income of some staff members and workers showed no increase or even fell, although the income of the greater portion of the staff members and workers still showed an increase. Particularly outstanding was that the income of some individuals in the economic sector under the non-public-owned system was peculiarly high. Because of imperfections in the existing price system and in the tax structure, and also because management is not strict enough, only a small portion of the net operational income of private economy and individual economy was delivered in the form of taxes to the state, and the greater portion was retained by the enterprise and the individual.

As for redistribution, in recent years there has also been a trend of slanting toward social welfare and the individual, manifested as follows. First, according to policy stipulation, 60 percent of the profit retention of the enterprises should be devoted to the production development fund, and the portion spent on welfare, reward, and encouragement funds should not exceed 40 percent. But in recent years, the proportion of profit retentions of industrial enterprises retained for production development funds became increasingly lower, whereas the ratio devoted to the reward, encouragement, and welfare funds grew. In 1985, the ratio between production development funds and reward encouragement and welfare funds was 35.3:64.7, in 1986, it dropped to 20.8:79.2, and in 1987 it again dropped to 18.8:81.2. Second, the portion of the financial income of the state used on expanded reproduction has been daily reduced, whereas the portion expended on social welfare (including various kinds of subsidies) has been steadily increased.

Before 1978, roughly one-third of state financial expenditures was on capital construction and two-thirds was on protection of living and national defense, expenses of state administrative organs, and culture, education, and science. In 1988, the proportion of appropriations for capital construction amounted to less than one-fourth of the state's financial expenditures. In our country, housing also belongs to the category of welfare distribution, and in 1988 the investment in housing construction was 1.3 percent of total investment in capital construction. It should also be pointed out that a portion of transferred value used on compensating losses in fixed assets has been taken as the current year's newly created value and has been distributed to the individuals. This is the customarily mentioned problem of the enterprise "eating up its own old capital." Since the existing depreciation amount of fixed assets is based on the original value and is far lower than the depreciation amount to be retained according to the rebuilt value, a considerable part of the portion of the difference between the two depreciation amounts has been used on welfare and individual consumption. If the transferred value of the simple reproduction maintained by use of this less-deducted portion is deducted from the gross volume of the national income and output, then the distribution of the national income will be all the more slanted to the individual.

Slanting of the distribution of the national income to the individual leads to serious consequences. It causes enhanced consumption demand, imbalance in market supply and demand, and increased commodity prices; it causes a decrease in the financial receipts of the state and makes the state lack sufficient financial strength to increase the rate of building of basic industries, to increase investments in science, technology, and education, or to carry out effective macroeconomic readjustment. Furthermore, it deprives the enterprises of self-owned funds to undertake expanded reproduction and technical transformation and, with the enterprises thus lacking in production stamina, the long-term interests of the enterprises and their staff members and workers will be adversely affected in the end. Hence, we must take effective measures to rectify as soon as possible this tendency.

II

The sources of overslanting the distribution of income to the individual may be traced to the origins of the economic structure and of the distribution system.

1. The pure and simple power-delegating and interest-ceding in the reform of the economic structure have caused too much policymaking power for income distribution to be delegated to the localities and enterprises.

Reform of the economic structure in our country began with the delegation of power and ceding of interests. The state has delegated some decisionmaking power and power to control resources to the localities or enterprises in an effort to arouse the latter's enthusiasm. At the same

time, this has made the distribution of national income slant toward the localities and enterprises.

Take, for example, reform of the financial structure. In 1980 we began the system of "demarcation of receipts and expenditures and contracting at various levels"; this was later changed to the method of the percentile retention of gross volume, and in 1988 we enforced various methods of financial contracting. But, be it the method of "contracting with a fixed amount of delivery to the state" or the method of "contracting with progressive increases in the amount of delivery to the state," comparatively speaking, attention has been paid to arousing the enthusiasm of the localities, to a fixed contracting of the amount of revenue delivered to central finance, thus increasing local financial power, and causing an annual decrease in the ratio of central financial receipts in gross national financial receipts.

The enterprise contracted operational responsibility system makes a readjustment of the initial distribution relations between the state and the enterprise and gives more financial power to the enterprise. The basic principles of the contracted operational responsibility system are fixing the contracted base figure, definitely ensuring deliveries to the treasury, percentage division of excess receipts, and deficient receipts to be made up by the contractor. It carries the special features of increasing the quantity and concession of interest and formation of the initial distribution pattern of an "accumulative concession system." Although, in the base figure contracted by the enterprise, the ratio obtained by the state is relatively high, in the increased portion to the base figure the ratio obtained by the state falls. Particularly as a result of the effects of the rise in commodity prices, currency inflation causes certain depreciation of the base figure, whereas the increased receipts from the rise in commodity prices are taken as the increased portion for distribution, with the greater part of the distributing going to the enterprise. Moreover, the base figures fixed by the various localities are generally on the low side; the enterprises are not responsible for losses, and losses are compensated by the state. Thus, this leads to lowering the portion obtained by the state in the initial distribution.

In short, enforcement of the enterprise operational contract system causes ceding of interests by the state to the enterprise in the initial distribution of national income; enforcement of the system of financial contracting makes the central government cede interests to the localities in the redistribution of national income; in the end, to a fixed degree a transfer is made to the individual residents and social welfare, leading to the distribution of the national income slant toward the individual.

2. Appearance of new distortions in the system of income distribution.

In our country, the traditional distribution of the residents' income is carried out on the basis of the distribution principle of "advanced deduction" in socialist political economy. That is, deductions are made from the

social gross products turned out in the current year for compensation funds, expanded reproduction funds, social welfare funds, and increased reserve funds, and the remaining portion is used on the distribution of consumer goods to individuals. Based on this principle, for a protracted period in the cities and towns of our country we have carried out the income distribution system of extensive employment, low pay, and high welfare benefits. There is universal employment of staff members and workers, monetary salary and wage income are relatively low, but social welfare is protected to a fairly high degree. Our country is one of the countries of the world in which the per capita level of national income is relatively low. However, if we include the social welfare benefits of housing, public medical care, price subsidies, and so forth, then it is generally acknowledged by foreign scholars that the per capita real national income in our country is equivalent to that of the middle or higher level in the developed countries. The strongest point of this system of income distribution is that, under the conditions of the relatively low level of the productive forces, the basic standard of living and basic welfare of the extensive masses of people can be protected and social justice and equality can be realized. The defects are "everybody eating from the same big pot" in distribution, the "supply system" on the side of welfare protection, and egalitarianism. Not only is this not beneficial in arousing the enthusiasm of the staff members and workers in production development, but it also easily causes extravagance. Since 1984 we have carried out rather big reform in the income distribution system and have given the enterprises some of the power to distribute the accumulation and consumption funds originally held by the state. However, as for the distribution method of the social welfare supply system, no corresponding reform has been made. On the contrary, it has been further expanded. The people's living standard has obviously been improved in recent years in our country, but at the same time two outstanding problems have appeared:

First, the growth rate of the income of staff members and workers has exceeded that of the labor productivity rate. One of the basic principles in income distribution should be that the growth rate of salaries and wages should be lower than that of labor productivity rate. However, since 1984, the salary and wage income of staff members and workers in our country has always surpassed the labor productivity rate. In the "Sixth Five-Year Plan" period, the growth rate of actual salaries and wages of staff members and workers in the whole country exceeded that of the labor productivity rate, the ratio between the two being 1.24:1. After 1987, the measure of linking the gross volume of salaries and wages with economic effects was pushed in an all-around manner, but in reality the linking ratio has always violated the prescribed standard. Inevitably, the result of the growth in salaries and wages exceeding the labor productivity rate is that salaries and wages eat into profits, which in turn reduces state income.

Following economic invigoration, the sources of income of staff members and workers have become many-sided, and income outside of salaries and wages has increased even faster than income from salaries and wages. According to a typical survey, the ratio between income outside of salaries and wages and the gross volume of salaries and wages rose from 14.6 percent in 1983 to about 50 percent in 1988. The too-fast growth in the income outside of regular salary and wages is a main cause of the abnormal growth in the monetary receipts of the residents of our country and in their balance of purchasing power, of which a considerable portion is transferred from the profits retained by the enterprises and financial redistribution and some have even been listed as production expenses.

Second, the "supply system" in social welfare has been further expanded. In the traditional income distribution system of our country, low salary and wage income and high social welfare protection are symmetrical. Reform of the economic structure has broken the pattern of the first distribution, and if we can also reform the social welfare protection system in a timely manner and change the method of having the state take charge of the whole, then the pattern of the distribution of the national income will not be overly slanted toward the individual. However, unfortunately, government departments at various levels and the enterprises, for the sake of their political performance and their business performance and the anxiety to improve the living standards of staff members and workers, have allowed the "supply system" in social welfare protection to be further expanded and, as a result, the practice of distribution in kind has become more rampant and serious. 1) The increase in expenditures on welfare benefits has exceeded the increase in salaries and wages. According to statistics, from 1984 to 1988, expenditures on insurance rose 25.2 percent, surpassing by 5.3 percent the increase in the gross volume of salaries and wages; the ratio of expenditures on insurance and welfare benefits compared to the gross volume of salaries and wages rose from 22.7 percent in 1984 to 28.2 percent in 1988. If the insurance and welfare expenses for retired staff members and workers were also included, then the expenditures would be even larger, amounting to nearly 100 billion yuan, or equivalent to 8.3 percent of national income. 2) As for expenses for house rent, water, electricity, and transportation, the portion borne by the individual has become increasingly smaller, whereas the burden assumed by the state and the enterprise has become increasingly larger. In recent years, our country has made large investments in such basic facilities as housing and tap water, municipal communications, gas works, and so forth, and there has been a definite improvement in the housing and public facilities for staff members and workers in the urban areas. But the proportion of the expenses borne by the individual out of his individual income has fallen yearly, while the state and the enterprise not only must bear the construction costs, but also be responsible for the subsidies on house rent, and water,

electric, and communication charges. This double pressure has caused an increasing burden on the state and the enterprise, whereas the individual's monetary outlay can be shifted to the direction of high-grade consumer goods and luxuries.

The fact that the increase in the income of the staff members and workers has surpassed the increase in the labor productivity rate has caused the portion in the centralized hold of the state in the first distribution of national income to fall and the portion of the "supply system" in social welfare protection to be further expanded and also, in the redistribution of the national income, has caused the social welfare expenses of the state and enterprises to increase. This double pressure breaks the traditional distribution system and forms a nonsymmetrical and distorted pattern, manifested in the end by the distribution of the national income being too much slanted to the individual. This distorted distribution pattern is not in conformity with the targets of reform.

III

How should we proceed to readjust the existing irrational pattern of income distribution and improve and deepen the reform of the income distribution system? In our opinion, first, the interest readjustment policy in economic reform must look to all sides along with the policy of income distribution and be mutually coordinated. Second, we must speed up the reform of redistribution, definitely alter the system of having the state take sole charge of social welfare, at the same time improve the policy on first distribution and control the irrational growth of income outside the realm of regular salaries and wages.

1. The interest readjustment policy in economic reform must be coordinated with the income distribution policy.

The economic structure, economic policies, and income distribution affect each other and are reciprocally restrictive. Hence, the various economic reform policies and measures must be coordinated with the policy on income distribution. Measures on interest readjustment must be weighed and balanced in a comprehensive manner by the overall economic department. In particular, such measures should not be put on stage unless financial balancing has been done in advance, and we must avoid having many departments interfere. At present we should gradually enhance the state's share in the distribution of the national income and enable the share obtainable by the state to be maintained preferably at 25 to 30 percent, gradually rectifying the irrational pattern of an over-slanting toward the individual. Conceivably, through improving the various contracting measures and using the levers of taxation and pricing, we can appropriately increase the proportion obtained by the state and decrease the proportions obtained by the enterprise and the individual, so as to strengthen the center's macroeconomic adjustment and control, readjust the

industrial structure, push the balanced development of the local economies and avoid the overexpansion of income differentials.

2. Reform the "supply system" in the social protection package and change the method of the state taking whole responsibility to a joint sharing of responsibility by the state, enterprise, and individual.

Under the conditions of a clear-cut change in the pattern of the first distribution of national income, the original principal of "deducting in advance" is no longer applicable, social protection cannot be contracted for in whole by the state, and, following the continuous increases in the income of the staff members and workers and in profit retention by the enterprises, there should be a gradual shift over to the principle of a rational sharing of the burden by the state, enterprise, and individual. This is the crucial point in the reform of the distribution system. Thus, it can be ensured that the state will have the necessary accumulation funds to take up the functions of construction, stamina in economic development will be augmented, and at the same time it will be beneficial to overcoming various kinds of incorrect atmosphere and behavior and to cutting down on extravagance. The concrete measures are as follows:

a) Step up the reform of the retirement insurance system and establish a retirement insurance structure which is an integration of legally fixed retirement insurance, supplementary retirement insurance sponsored by the enterprises, and individual retirement savings. It is necessary to formulate retirement insurance regulations based on a non-state-owned economy and to regularly collect the retirement insurance funds. In principle, in the case of enterprises of the "three capital sources," town and township enterprises, and urban collective enterprises, retirement insurance taxes should be shared equally by the enterprise personnel and the enterprise unit, while in the case of individual workers, basically the individual should take up the burden.

b) Reform the housing system. Reform calling for commercialized housing is a relatively long-term procedure. In my opinion, the general principle and direction of the reform should be fixing different rental prices based on the income level of the staff member or worker and the residence standard. Following the rise in the income of the staff members and workers, housing subsidies from the state should be gradually reduced so that the ratio of housing rental in the individual's living expenses will be appropriately increased. In residence construction we should build more of the ordinary type based on the country's current economic level and we must definitely refrain from high-standard construction and from wilful ornamental additions to the buildings. At the same time, advocate housing savings and encourage individual purchases of residences.

c) As conditions mature, appropriately adjust the fees and charges for the various public utility services such as transport, post, telegraph, and so on, to ensure that these

departments become solely responsible for their own profits and losses, and that subsidies from the state may be reduced.

d) Based on the principles of benefits to production, ensuring the availability of medicare, sternly enforcing discipline and systems, and overcoming extravagance, the systems of public medicare and labor insurance should be reformed and at the same time the system of unemployment insurance for staff members and workers should be perfected.

3. Clarify and liquidate extra-account receipts and income outside of regular salaries and wages.

Integrating with the liquidation and consolidation of various categories of companies, improving order in the circulation sector, strictly and sternly enforcing the accounting and auditing systems, and strengthening settlement by vouchers and credentials, receipts and expenses of all operational activities must be duly recorded in the accounts and no extra or small treasury may be installed. All bogus accounts and bogus financial documents must be sternly dealt with. At the same time, the method of entrusting banks to pay the salaries and wages of staff members and workers should be gradually carried out so that distribution of the various kinds of receipts may be straightforward.

a) Enterprises, organizations, and business units should set up separate accounts when setting up companies of an operational nature for doing business in tertiary industry. The privilege of tax exemption should be abolished and taxes should be paid according to the rules. At the same time, there should not be noncompensatory use of enterprise or state assets to carry out business activities. Use of such assets should be accompanied by payment of fixed fees and deposits of depreciation funds as prescribed.

b) Liquidation of income outside of regular salaries and wages. At present, many kinds of income are outside of regular salaries and wages. There should be an overall clearing of and accounting for the items of production cost and expenses of enterprise units. Revision and formulation should be made of the scope and standard of items to be incorporated into the cost of production, such as salaries and wages, bonus, articles for labor protection, welfare, subsidies and compensation, so as to prevent against the practices of cleverly setting up pretexts for expenses, random additions to production cost, and so on. Regarding extra pay within the enterprise itself outside the range of regular salaries and wages, the kinds that should be abolished should be resolutely abolished while receipts in kinds of a nonmonetary nature that cannot be abolished or temporarily cannot be abolished should be incorporated into the scope of salaries and wages for staff members and workers and kept in strict control. All-around clearing and consolidation should be made of income received from outside the enterprise unit, including salaries for concurrent jobs,

rebates, commissions, retentions, service fees, administrative fees, advisory fees, and so forth. The kinds of receipts that are rational should be made open to the public and transparent, while those that are irrational should be determinedly abolished.

4. Improve the policy of linking work and effect in the enterprise, on the basis of enhancing efficiency, firmly insist on the principle of increasing distribution to the individual's income.

Linking work and effect has become an important form in the distribution of salaries and wages in enterprises in our country at present. The main point is that a mechanism for macroeconomic adjustment and control and microeconomic restraint has not been formed, thereby distorting the pattern of the first distribution. It is necessary to strengthen the macroeconomic and microeconomic planned control of salaries and wages, make the growth rate of salaries and wages (including income outside the realm of regular salaries and wages) lower than that of the labor productivity rate, and thus ensure a stable increase in the financial revenues of the state.

a) In linking work and effect of the enterprise, the present practice of a unitary linking target should be changed into a compound linking target. We should carefully fix the base figure for linking tax and profit and gradually change the "base figure" method to the "coefficient" method. Following improvement in the efficiency rate, the ratio of salaries and wages in the production cost should gradually fall.

b) Carry out the two-level macroeconomic adjustment and control of the salary and wage plan and increase the responsibilities of the province and cities. The salary and wage plan should be a mandatory plan, formulated by the State Planning Commission in coordination with the Labor Ministry and the Finance Ministry and forwarded for action to the various provinces, cities, and departments. The latter, based on the salary and wage plan forwarded by the state, should fix the salary and wage plan for their subordinate enterprises. In actual implementation, if the results surpass the salary and wage plan forwarded by the state, deductions should be made in the salary and wage plan for the following fiscal year, and, at the same time, corresponding increases should be made in the current year's deliveries to central finance; in the event of any balance remaining, retention should be made by the provinces and cities to serve as salary and wage regulatory funds under their own control and use.

5. Readjust and control the excessively large income of some industries and trades and non-public-owned enterprises.

At present, in some industries and trades (such as tourism services, restaurants, taxi drivers, and companies of an operational nature) and enterprises under the non-public-ownership system, income is excessively high. This has its rational side and also its irrational side. As for excessively high incomes due mainly to utilization of policy preferences, imperfection of the taxation

system, and the double-track system of prices, we should adopt overall measures to restrict them to an appropriate extent.

a) Irrational preference policies hindering just competition should be abolished. At present, the existing business tax and income tax rates in the service sectors of tourist hotels and car-rental businesses tend to be too low and should be duly adjusted. We should, through regulation by taxation, keep the profit rates of the service industries and trades more or less on the same level with the average profit rate of the production sector.

b) Regarding private enterprises and individual households, we should principally strengthen tax collection and control and protect and support their legitimate operations and legitimate income. As a whole, the tax burden cannot be said to be low if we follow the stipulations of the "provisional regulations on income tax payable by urban and rural individual industrial and commercial units" and the "provisional regulations on income tax payable by private enterprises," plus the individual regulatory tax which must be delivered. From now on, first, the units must keep a set of books, improve and perfect their accounting system, periodical inspections over them must be organized so as to prevent evasion or omission in tax collection; and second, the quality of the taxation personnel must be heightened, and tax control must be strengthened so that taxes that should be collected can be so collected and delivered to the state.

c) The operational scope of companies of a business nature should be fixed by the industrial and commercial departments. Those engaging in wholesale trade should be screened and approved by the departments in charge of resources and commerce; the differential prices between wholesale and retail should be fixed and limited; illegal rebuying and reselling activities should be banned. The standards of their salaries and wages, bonuses, and welfare benefits should be prescribed by the Labor Ministry and the Finance Ministry and should not be higher than state enterprise units of the same category.

Finally, it should be pointed out that we still need to further augment political ideological work. We should make all the enterprises and individuals consciously consider the situation as a whole; correctly handle relations between partial interests and whole interests, interests of the moment and long-term interests, and individual interests and collective and state interests; on the basis of production development, from beginning to end firmly insist on the principle of gradually improving the standard of living of the masses; and prevent the too-rapid growth of individual consumption funds.

The Bedrock of the Dialectical Materialist World View—Correctly Understanding Lenin's Definition of Matter

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[Text] I. Matter Is the Bedrock of Dialectical Materialism. Differences Centered on the Question of Matter Are the Focal Point of the Struggle Between the Two Lines of Philosophy

In studying Marxist philosophy, the most basic aspect is establishing a dialectical materialist world view. To this end, we must first clarify what is meant by materialism. In English the term is "materialism" and this comes from the Latin root "materia." This term can be directly translated as "materialism." Its basic meaning involves the following ideas: 1) External to man, there exists an objective world and the basis, essence, and noumenon of the world are matter. This is what is meant by the statement that material is primary. 2) The various things in the world (including man) which are in constant change are all material forms of concrete existence and the unity of the world lies in its material nature. 3) Relative to the material, man's spirit, consciousness, and ideas are secondary. They are the functions, attributes, and products of specific matter (the human brain) and are a dynamic reflection of matter. We can see that this concept of matter occupies an extremely important position in the overall materialist philosophy (including its scientific form of dialectical materialism). It can be said to be the bedrock of the overall theory. Because of this, in the philosophical sphere from ancient times till today, it has been the prime target of attack by idealists and agnostics in their opposition to materialism. Berkeley, the famous representative of subjective idealism, said, "The existence of matter, or bodies perceived, has not only been the main support of atheists and fatalists, but on the same principle does idolatry likewise in all its varied forms depend"; and "all the impious schemes of atheism and irreligion are built on the foundation of the doctrine of matter or corporeal substance... All their monstrous systems have so visible and necessary a dependence on this doctrine that when this cornerstone is removed, the whole fabric cannot choose but to fall to the ground."¹ This attempt to negate the theory of matter and thereby overturn materialism is, of course, just wishful thinking. However, it should be recognized that Berkeley's words do indeed show where the basic point of materialism lies and demonstrate his partisan nature, on the philosophical level, in adhering to his idealism and in his opposition to materialism. This shows, from the negative side, the strategic significance of the question of matter in the struggle in the philosophical sphere.

This was so in history and is also true today. Of the debates on major principles that have occurred in our country's philosophical sphere in the last few years, the

most basic has been whether or not we should adhere to materialism. Some articles that hold a negative attitude clearly consider that both materialism and idealism are one-sided. They hold that real Marxist philosophy is not dialectical materialist in nature but "a theory of practice" or "practical humanism" that transcends materialism and idealism. The spearhead of their criticism is directed at the "matter" in dialectical materialism. As the explanation of matter in current textbooks and monographs on philosophical principles is always given in accordance with Lenin's definition, they have created all sorts of arguments to attack Lenin's definition. For example, some articles criticize Lenin's definition as being but an ontological, not an epistemological, definition, saying that it is an old ontological mode of thought, a directly perceived, mechanical materialism not suited to modern epistemology. Some have said that Lenin's definition "sees matter but ignores man" and denies that man is noumenal, claiming that such a theory is suited only to a "purely natural world" of hundreds of thousands of years ago, before it had been transformed by man. Thus, they advocate the use of "practice" to replace matter as the noumenon of the world. Still others claim that Lenin's definition has already been "disproved" by the development of modern physics and is outdated. If these arguments are authentic, then the materialist concept of Marxist philosophy which is generally accepted today is negated. However, in fact, these arguments are all false and are basically untenable. We believe that it is necessary, in response to these criticisms that people have made, to engage in fresh study and research on Lenin's definition of matter, so as to clarify right and wrong on the theoretical level.

II. Lenin's Definition of Matter Is a Scientific Exposition of the Materialist Philosophical Viewpoint and Manifests the Unity of World View and Epistemology

In his book *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, Lenin put forward his definition of matter. He wrote, "Matter is a philosophical category denoting the objective reality which is given to man by his sensations, and which is copied, photographed, and reflected by our sensations, while existing independently of them."² If one studies Lenin's definition objectively and in an overall way, one will have to admit that Lenin's idea is correct. It correctly sums up, on both the world view and epistemological levels, the basic experiences of mankind in understanding and transforming the objective world. At the same time, it draws in the lessons of the struggle with idealism; sublates the directly perceived, biased, and metaphysical old philosophy in which ontology (that is, world view) and epistemology are separated; and carries forward and develops the rational ideas about the theory of matter provided by materialism in the past.

First, Lenin's definition of matter sums up the common characteristics and nature of all objective things in the world and defines the essential difference between them and human consciousness. This is their objective reality. Lenin stressed, "The 'sole' property of matter, with

whose recognition philosophical materialism is bound up, is the property of being an objective reality, of existing outside the mind." "Matter is that which, acting upon our sense organs, produces sensation, and matter is the objective reality given to us in sensation."³ So-called objective reality is spoken of relative to subjective spirit. The importance of this statement by Lenin lies in the fact that he stressed that matter exists outside of man's subjective mind, that it exists independently of man's mind, and that it produces sensation. Put another way, it produces the things of the subjective spiritual world by acting upon our sense organs. Thus, it has an objective nature. Defining matter as that which objectively exists is, on the world-view level, a summary of the common characteristics of all things, and thus grasps the nature of the world. On the epistemological level, it achieves a sole (final) source of cognition. Defining matter in this way answers the basic question of philosophy and manifests a unity of the dialectical materialist world view and epistemology, while revealing the essence of the Marxist world view. On the other hand, it grasps the essence of the antagonism between materialism and idealism, which are the two world views and the two basic lines in philosophy, clearly revealing the major harm of all idealism and, in terms of point of departure and basic premises, draws a clear dividing line between materialism and all idealism, pluralism, and other eclectic schools of thought.

Second, in his definition, Lenin points out that matter is a reality "given to man by his senses" and "which is copied, photographed, and reflected by our sensations." In many other parts of the book *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, Lenin points out that matter "is reflected by our minds" "reflected by our theory," "reflected by science," and so on. That is to say, matter can be understood. If something has a material form, such as a far-off heavenly body or a basic particle in the microscopic world, although it cannot be directly perceived by man's sensory organs, it can be indirectly perceived by using instruments as media. People do not understand only the external phenomena of the world and the various things in it through the senses, but can also grasp the innate essence and patterns of the material world and the various things in it on a conceptual level through rational thought. It needs to be strongly pointed out here that many phenomena in the sphere of social history, such as the productive forces, the relations of production, and so on, are also all material phenomena and are specific forms of material existence. The three major factors of the productive forces—the laborers, the tools of labor, and the target of labor—are all material and exist objectively. One of the greatest achievements of Marxist philosophy in the history of man's epistemology is that it brought materialism into the sphere of social history. The various material phenomena in this sphere and their relations and patterns, although often more difficult to grasp than phenomena in the natural sphere, can still be understood by man through practice. There are some things that exist objectively which cannot as yet be observed or understood due to the current level of

man's practice and science. There are also things which have been observed, but as yet their nature and patterns have not been discovered. However, following the development of mankind's practice and thought capabilities (including cognitive tools), these things will gradually be understood by man. This mode of understanding and determining matter is different from the empiricism seen in the history of philosophy, and is also different from rationalism. It is even more different from Kant's "thing-in-itself," which by its nature cannot be fathomed and cannot be understood. This correctly reflects, from a material viewpoint, the objective nature of the contradictions between matter and mind, and between subject and object, and it fully implements the epistemological dialectical theory of reflection. It explains that, for man, as the subject of history and subject of cognition, understanding the objective world through practice, feelings, and thought involves a process of continued deepening from the phenomenal to the essential and from that which is not known to that which is known. This fully affirms man's dynamic nature in respect of the objective world and fully demonstrates the direction for continually exploring the unknown world. At the same time, it corrects the mistakes, on the philosophical level, whereby empiricism and rationalism did not understand the dialectical relationship between perceptual understanding and rational understanding and between theory and practice, and the mistakes in their viewpoint on matter. It also draws a clear dividing line, in terms of point of departure and basic premises, between materialism and agnosticism.

III. Lenin's Definition Brings Dialectics Into Materialism and Negates Mechanism, Relativism, and Other Sophistry

In his definition, Lenin stresses that matter is a "philosophical category" and that objective existence is the "sole property" of matter. This is a scientific summary, on the methodological level, of the struggle between materialism and idealism centered on the question of matter. At the same time, at the highest level of thought, that is, in terms of world view, it is a scientific abstraction of the nature of the objective world developed by the practice and science of modern man.

The materialism before Marx opposed the various types of spiritual ontology of religion and idealism (that is, the advocacy that various types of spirit were the essence of the world) and persisted in understanding the world in accordance with its original features. They held that the world, which is composed of millions of things, objectively exists outside man's mind and that matter is the basis, essence, and noumenon of the millions of things in the world. Their theory was so-called materialist ontology and it was basically reasonable. However, because of the limitations of the level of natural science and other historical conditions at that time, the idea of matter in old materialism was seriously lacking in aspects. Many philosophers have held that in the world there existed some kind of original substance, the final raw material, and that this could not be divided, could

not be structured, and was unchanging. All things and phenomena were created by the combination and division in different forms of this, the smallest unit of basic matter. These were the so-called "ultimate building blocks of the universe" and the name of matter came from this. In the West, the ancient materialists held that the original material substances were earth, water, fire, wind, and atoms. In China, there was the theory of the five elements (water, wood, metal, fire, and earth), as well as the idea of ethereal essence, and so on. Up to the eve of the revolution in natural science in the late 19th century (when man began to explore the microscopic world), people's understanding of matter, in terms of ideology and methodology, still had not transcended the level of the ancient theory of atoms. Thus, people saw matter as some sort of primal substance—atoms—and held that these had characteristics of extensiveness, indivisibility, unchangingness, movement, and so on. In fact, they were using a particular specific form (such as mechanical movement) or particular attribute at a specific level in the system of matter to define matter, or summing this up as the basis of the world and not understanding that the material category of philosophy should be the highest abstraction summing up all levels, all forms of movement, and the common characteristics of the material world. This is the same as equating a white horse with horses, and making the mistake of taking a single attribute as representing the whole. Further, conjecturing that there exists some so-called "unchanging material substance" or some "absolute substance" goes against facts and does not comprehend that the material world is infinite and that movement, development, and change are the basic attributes of all things. More important, the old materialist view of matter was not thorough-going, it could not be implemented in the sphere of social history, and could not comprehend the significance which the material nature of social forms and man's activities of material practice had on the natural world.

All of the idealist philosophers attacked the above-mentioned defects of the old materialist view of matter. In this respect, the Machists were a typical example in modern philosophy. First, they directly inherited Berkeley's idealist viewpoints and basically negated the objective existence of "matter," saying that matter was a "nonentity" and "an unknowable thing." They persisted in confusing materialism's "matter" with Kant's "thing-in-itself," attacked acceptance of the existence of matter as "exceeding objective reality," attacked recognition of the unknowable "thing-in-itself" as falling into Kantism, and claimed that the materialists were "doubling" the world and preaching "dualism." They then claimed that this was the basic reason that materialism was "meta-physical" (this is what some people call "the old ontological mode of thought"). Second, they distorted the new achievements in modern physics, such as the discovery of radioactive elements and electrons, and used this as their basis for negating the materialist view of matter. At that time, some physicists had in fact said some inaccurate things based on the material concepts of

classical physics, such as speaking about "electrons not being matter," "matter disappearing," and "electricity replacing matter." This showed that the material concepts of these physicists were narrow and that the concept of matter of the old materialists was not complete. However, these claims were distorted and employed by the Machists and, juggling with the sophistry of relativism, they claimed that the development of modern physics overturned the concept of matter in philosophical materialism, thereby proving the "victory of idealism." Third, they gave idealist explanations of matter. They employed the methods of eclecticism to say that matter could not exist independently of man, the subject, and that matter was formed and determined by man's senses. That is to say they held that matter is a subjective spiritual thing which is derived from consciousness. Mach clearly wrote, "What we call matter is a certain systematic combination of the elements (sensations)." Avenarius constructed his theory of "principal coordination" and held that matter (physical things) only exists within experience and is a counterterm in indivisible coordination with the self (the central term).

When Lenin set down his definition for matter, he took into consideration the lessons from the mistakes made by the old materialists in their view of matter. Also, in response to the various types of sophistry juggled by the Machists and other idealists when criticizing the materialist view of matter, Lenin paid special attention to bringing dialectics into materialism. He wrote, "Materialism and idealism differ in their answers to the question of the source of our knowledge and of the relation of knowledge (and of the 'mental' in general) to the physical world; while the question of the structure of matter, of atoms and electrons, is a question that concerns only this 'physical world.'"⁴ The reason that, on the philosophical level, some physicists fell into idealism was that "they did not know dialectics. They combated metaphysical (in Engels' and not the positivist, that is, Humean, sense of the word) materialism and its one-sided 'mechanism' and in so doing threw the baby out with the bath water. Denying the immutability of the elements and of the properties of matter known hitherto, they ended by denying matter, that is, the objective reality of the physical world... From Engels' point of view, the only immutability is the reflection by the human mind (when there is a human mind) of an external world and developing independently of the mind... Dialectical materialism insists on the temporary, relative, approximate character of all these milestones in the knowledge of nature gained by the progressing science of man. The electron is as inexhaustible as the atom, nature is infinite, but it infinitely exists. And it is this sole categorical, this sole unconditional, recognition of nature's existence outside the mind and perception of man that distinguishes dialectical materialism from relativist agnosticism and idealism."⁵ Thus, in setting down the definition of matter, Lenin did not, like some people in their attacks today, stop at the level of understanding found in the mechanism of the last century. Quite the opposite, because he examined the philosophical debates elicited

by the very newest developments in physics at that time. He criticized mechanism and also relativism, eclecticism, and other idealist sophistry, and truly achieved unity of dialectics and materialism.

The category of matter in philosophy is the highest abstraction of the objective world itself. It is a system constituted by the major elements including substance, movement, time, space, attributes, relations, and patterns. Its extension includes all things that objectively exist. Seen in spatial terms, regardless of whether we speak of something as large as a heavenly body or as small as a basic particle, whether we speak of the universe, the macroworld, the microworld, or the super-microworld, regardless of whether something is inorganic or organic and whether it is of the natural world or created in human society, all are included. Seen in temporal terms, regardless of whether we speak of the past, the present, or the future, the entire universe is a material composite which is in constant flux. Thus, its contents can only be a summation of the essential attributes common to all material forms. It cannot use the partial to sum up the entirety, or use the forms, structures, and characteristics of a specific level of the huge system which is constituted by the material world and exaggerate them to claim that they are the common nature of all levels and all forms. The essential attribute is that of objective existence. Using Lenin's terminology, this is the sole "property" and, being sole, excludes all else. Only by such stipulation can we truly manifest the unconditional innate essence of all things in the world without exception, an essence which even when the specific forms change, remains absolutely unchanged. Matter is the basis and foundation of the world. That is to say, the unity of the world lies in its material nature and, in the end, lies in universal, unlimited, infinite objective existence. Only with this sort of understanding and summary of the world can we come to observe the general from the specific, find the absolute from the relative, grasp the permanent from the temporary, accord with the dialectical nature of the world and basically exclude all idealist, relativist, and eclectic sophistry. In addition, only thus will we be able to completely correct the mechanistic and metaphysical defects of old materialism.

Defining matter in this way also eliminates the claimed contradiction, in terms of their view of nature, between philosophy and natural science. On the one hand, philosophy's correct stipulation of the category of matter provides guidance on the world view and methodological level, so that natural science can explore the mysteries of the world. It does not obstruct, but rather encourages scientists to continually deepen and develop their research into the various levels, structures, forms, characteristics, and patterns of things. In another respect, the reason dialectical materialism specifies matter in this way is that, by taking the facts and materials already proven by the entire practice and science of mankind as a base, having all new achievements in practice and science further proving and deepening people's understanding of the objective existence of matter, can only

enrich and develop the philosophical view of matter. It certainly will not, as was the case with old materialism, be subject to attack by idealism when natural science produces new theories about matter (even though such attacks were essentially unscientific).

This definition of matter also corrects the nonthoroughgoing aspect of old materialism in not being able to bring its view of matter into the social sphere. Social existence, which has the production modes of the material means of livelihood as its essential content, is not dependent on people's social consciousness but is an independently existing objective reality. This is a special form of moving matter in the social sphere. Lenin said, "Materialism in general recognizes objectively real being (matter) as independent of the consciousness, sensation, experiences, and so forth, of humanity. Historical materialism recognizes social being as independent of the social consciousness of humanity."⁶ Marxist philosophy, which includes a dialectical materialist view of nature and of history, is cast from a solid block of steel. Its indivisible base is the principle that "the unity of the world lies in its material nature," which includes the sphere of social history.

IV. It Is Completely Erroneous To Use 'Humanized Nature' To Negate the Objective Existence of Matter

During the flood of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization, a major idea in the criticism of Lenin's definition was to set Lenin and Marx in antagonistic positions and to attack Lenin for having a directly perceived, mechanistic theory of reflection, which was a step backward from Marx's practical materialism. The logic was that objective fact, which does not rely on man's mind for its existence, was suited only to the primal "purely natural world" prior to man's emergence or to that world which primitive man faced. However, the present perceptual world, that is, the actual thing on which people center, was created or transformed by man. This is the "humanized natural world." In their view, the results of practice already conceptually exist in people's brains prior to practice and they manifest needs, hopes, and will. Thus, such a humanized world can no longer simply be said to objectively exist independent of man's will. They hold that, if one becomes divorced from the subject of man, then no object exists and the material is constituted by an inseparable relationship between subject and object, forming a unity of the subject and object on the basis of practice. Some other people say that the natural world spoken of by Engels was primary (basic) and that it referred to the natural world before mankind, but did not include, for example, tables and other such man-made objects; however, the "matter," "world," "environment," and "objective existence" spoken of by Lenin included all targets of cognition. Their arguments go on like this. Such ideas may seem correct but are actually wrong.

The extension of the matter and objective existence spoken of by dialectical materialism is the entire real world (including the material entity constituted by man)

which exists outside man's mind. Relative to consciousness and the spirit, it is the broadest and highest category. It does not include only the original natural world prior to the emergence of man and is not limited to that part of the natural world which has not yet been "humanized." Rather, it naturally includes the so-called "humanized world." Here, the crux lies in how we are to understand the "humanized world." This was a term used by Marx in his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.⁷ It refers to that part of the world which has been changed and transformed through man's practice and production labor. It includes those products for which there were no models in the primal world and which had to be completely created and discovered by man. That is the so-called "nature transformed by man." Marx used this term mainly to show man's nature and to explain mankind's great capacity to transform nature. For example, he said, "An animal produces only itself, while man reproduces the whole of nature."⁸ But can we, by extension, say that this whole of nature which is being reproduced does not include what is within the "material" spoken of by Lenin, or is not the objective reality which does not rely on man's mind for its existence? Of course we cannot.

First, the target of practice, the natural world, the external world is an objective reality that existed before practice and does not rely on man or man's mind for its existence. This is a prime material precondition for practice to occur. Without a natural world, without a perceptual external world, man could not create anything. Without a target of the labor process, labor could not exist. This is the basis for the forming of the new material substances (raw materials, energy) of "humanized nature." Second, practice is itself an objective material activity. Labor, that is productive capacity, is a special material entity. It is a movement form, a mode of existence, and an essential attribute of man. In substance it involves man using natural forces, including his own physical and mental powers, to transform natural forces and using material forces to transform other material forces. It involves matter in mutual roles. Thus, in the course of practice, people must respect the objective laws of material movement and must not violate the objective laws by arbitrarily acting in ways which go against them. Third, people's practice is, of course, governed by certain ideas and consciousness. This is manifested as needs, desires, ideals, will, and emotion, forming motives for action and anticipated goals. However, these are not purely subjective things that exist when one is born; they are unchanging. Rather, they are a reflection of objectively existing real relationships and links between man, things which exist in society, and the external environment (including the natural world, society, and other people) which is essential for his existence and development. That is to say, the consciousness guiding practice has a material source. Fourth, the result of practice is not a conceptual thing and not something derived from the mind, but a new form of material and objective existence. Through practice, the ideas, designs, plans for

creation, schemes, and blueprints that the subject constructs in his brain in accordance with his own knowledge of the object or the target, and in light of the situation of the subject (abilities, needs, ideals, will, emotions), are turned into material things, and the crystallization of people's labor and intellect condenses in the target. The spiritual thus becomes the material and subjective elements become objective and material. Also, as soon as natural things and original materials, after undergoing processing, are reproduced and appear before people as new materials, they are objective entities independent of the subjective will of all persons (including the subject of practice). Thus, all things that are changed and created by man's labor are not some "indivisible relationship between subject and object" and not, as some people would have it, some eclectic combination which has both subject and object natures. Rather, they really, objectively exist and are an inseparable, organic, component part of the overall world. At the same time, they are the material preconditions for future practice by mankind. Fifth, as long as practice continues, nature, which has already been humanized, can certainly be further humanized. However, as Marx stressed, regardless of how mankind's practice develops, the "superior position of the external, natural world" which includes "humanized nature" will never change.⁹

Fully evaluating the great role played by mankind's practice in transforming the objective world and mankind itself and, at the same time, correctly demonstrating the relationship between practice and matter and providing both a dialectical and materialist explanation of matter, is where Marx, in bringing materialism into the social history sphere, differed from the idealists and their views of history (including Feuerbach, who ignored the role of the subject, and Hegel, who arbitrarily developed the dynamic nature of the subject). Thus, using man's practice, consciousness, or other subjective dynamism to negate the objective existence of matter and denying the basic principle of materialism that matter is primary and mind secondary, violate Marxist thought and distort the nature of the revolutionary change that Marx realized in the philosophical sphere. On this basic question or principle Lenin and Marx were completely unified and there is no basis for artificially setting the two against each other. The claim that matter is "an indivisible relationship between subject and object" involves taking the subject-object relationship of idealist empiricism and furtively using it to replace the relationship between matter and mind in the materialist world view (ontology). Actually, this is a revival of the old errors of Avenarius' "empirical principal coordination" and not a new idea.

V. The Scientific Understanding of the Microscopic World Has Not 'Disproved,' Rather It Has Further Proved That Dialectical Materialism Is a Scientific World View

Some people claim that the reason they doubt and negate Lenin's definition of matter is that there is a contradiction between the acceptance of the objective existence of

matter and the scientific achievements of mankind today in understanding the microscopic world. They claim that according to the "principle of imprecision" in quantum mechanics, man cannot through his own sensory organs directly observe or perceive the microscopic world, and his knowledge of microscopic particles must come through instruments (electron microscopes and other experimental equipment). Thus, there exists interference (an uncontrollable mutual effect) by the instrument on the existential state of the thing being examined—the electron (or other microscopic particle). The result of all this is the so-called "strange behavior" by electrons, so that when they are measured for position (coordinates), there will certainly be interference in their movement, resulting in their momentum (speed) being indeterminate. The converse is also true. Some people have used this so-called "scientific fact" and come to the conclusion that talking about what electrons are, when they are divorced from man's observation, has no meaning. "Electrons exist because we observe them. We cannot talk about the nature of anything divorced from man's perceptual knowledge (including the use of eyes, hands, and instruments, which are the extensions of various sensory organs). Objects or natures which exist independent of our senses and consciousness are but an ancient illusion!" They even openly claim "the results of experiments clearly tend toward a subjective, idealist philosophical stand." "Now we know that when no one observes it, the moon actually does not exist." "If we recognize existence, it is being perceptually known." "Today, materialism has been disproven!" and so on.¹⁰ Clearly, they want to negate not only Lenin's definition of matter, but the entire materialist world view. This cannot be done, and it is completely wrong.

First, the basis of this view is not scientific fact, but a serious misunderstanding or even distortion of scientific principles. The so-called "principle of imprecision" is more properly translated as the "uncertainty principle." According to the discussion by the physicist Heisenberg, who promoted and proved this principle, his aim was to prove that microscopic particles had characteristics different from macroscopic objects. This was the indeterminate nature of their position (coordinates) and momentum (speed). He used a probability distribution function to describe their situation: Δq multiplied by Δp is greater than or equal to $h/4\pi$. Thus, this principle relates only to the innate characteristics of microscopic particles and thus has absolutely nothing to do with whether or not people are observing or measuring the particles. Put another way, we cannot hold that the "interference by observation instruments" or "measuring" are the reasons for the strange behavior constituted by the "uncertainty." As Heisenberg explained in his *The Physical Principles of the Quantum Theory*, "The uncertainty principle refers to the degree of indeterminateness in the possible present knowledge of the simultaneous values of various quantities with which the quantum theory deals. This does not restrict, for example, the exactness of a position measurement alone or a velocity measurement alone. The principle

states that every observation of the position of an electron will alter the momentum by an unknown and indeterminate amount such that, after carrying out the experiment, our knowledge of the electronic motion is restricted by the uncertainty relation.¹¹ However, although this "interference" exists in the process of statistical measurement, it does not affect the objectivity of our knowledge of microparticles. This is because simultaneous description of the coordinates and velocity microparticles is superfluous, and unitary description is sufficient. The Green detector, and in particular the D-L-P theorem have quite completely answered the so-called "subject intervention" problem in the process of quantum measurement and the "interference element" can be done away with. Thus, understanding the uncertainty principle as uncertainty about electrons produced by the interference of instruments, then extending this to mean "in the quantum world that there exists an inseparable mutual role between the object being measured and the observing and measuring instruments," that the subject and object are "mutually linked," that they "merge together" into an "overall entity," and then trying to use this as a basis for denying that matter objectively exists independently of the subject which is man, is a complete distortion of scientific theory.¹²

Second, this idea constitutes sophistry on the logical level. It mixes together the world-view question of whether or not the microscopic world is an independently existing thing outside of man and not dependent on man's observation and perceptual knowledge, and the question of scientific truth whereby man in understanding the microscopic world must use instruments as media, and thus there exists a mutual role between instrument and the target of cognition. This means that man cannot simultaneously ascertain a microparticle's position and momentum and this affects the accuracy of cognition. They come to the conclusion that man's cognition of microscopic objects must depend on the cognitive tools provided by instruments. This distorts and exaggerates the idea that the existence (and characteristics and patterns of movement) of microscopic bodies cannot be isolated and must depend upon instruments (this is the so-called "inseparable mutual roles"). Further, they sum up instruments as part of the subject, as extensions of the sensory organs of the subject, that are made and used by man, who is the observer. Thus, through seemingly complete, but actually eclectic, "principal coordination"-type unifying of subject and object, they finally negate the objective existence of matter and negate materialism. This view is by no means a new idea, but just a rehash of the idealist sophistry of Mach, Avenarius, and Berkeley.

Quantum mechanics, the theory of relativity, and other of the newest achievements in science are the most powerful proofs of the objective existence and knowability of the microscopic world and are the most thoroughgoing criticisms of the above-mentioned fallacies of the idealists. Today, many years after the first man traveled to and walked on the moon and nuclear

energy has become a major source for man's material production and life, there are still people claiming in formally published philosophical monographs that "when no one observes it, the moon actually does not exist." This is difficult to believe, but it can be seen in black and white. If this comes from overly stressing man's subjective nature, then it is cognitive bias. If it results from some motive and they are intentionally trying to shock people, then it is not a responsible action and shames the text. However, regardless of the reason, this does teach us from the negative angle, if we are divorced from the foundation provided by materialism and negate the objective existence of matter, what theoretical rubbish we will end up spouting.

To sum up, Lenin's definition of matter and his series of related expositions on the concept of matter are correct and comprehensive. His definition is not only the sole scientific abstraction of matter as a philosophical category, but also a stipulation of the essential characteristics of matter as a target of science, which has been endorsed by the majority of natural scientists. Lenin's definition of matter is an important contribution to Marxist philosophy. Of course, following the development of practice, science, and philosophy, people's understanding of matter will continually deepen. However, Lenin's earliest definition of matter in the scientific and philosophical senses is an objective truth proved by the entirety of mankind's practice and logic and will never become outdated.

Footnotes

1. *The Principles of Human Knowledge*, Sections 92 and 94.
2. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 128.
3. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, pp. 266, 146.
4. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, p. 266.
5. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, pp. 267-268.
6. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, p. 332.
7. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 42, p. 126.
8. *Ibid.*, Volume 42, p. 97.
9. *Ibid.*, Volume 3, p. 50.
10. See Jin Guantao: *The Philosophy of Man*, Volume 1.
11. pp. 16-17.
12. On the scientific aspects of this question, the renowned theoretical physicist Professor He Zuoxiu provides a detailed and incisive explanation in a recently published article. See ZHONGGUO SHEHUI KEXUE [CHINA'S SOCIAL SCIENCES] 1990, No. 2.

Attach Importance to and Improve Students' Nutritive Conditions—An Interview With Well-Known Nutritionist Yu Ruomu

HK1309033090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 90 pp 41-43, 40

[Article by QIUSHI reporter Yang Rupeng (2799 1172 7720)]

[Text] Issue No. 17, 1983, of HONGQI [RED FLAG] magazine carried an article under the title "Nutrition—A Major Matter Concerning People's Physique." The article was assessed as one of the superior theoretical articles that appeared in the magazine from 1979-1983. The author was the celebrated nutritionist, Comrade Yu Ruomu [0060 5387 2606], chairwoman of the Chinese Students Nutrition Promotion Society. In recent years, she has disregarded her old age; bearing a high sense of responsibility and a feeling of deep concern for the young generation, she surveyed the nutritive conditions of students and wrote a number of influential articles. Recently, this writer called on Comrade Yu Ruomu and discussed problems concerning nutritive conditions in colleges and middle and primary schools in our country.

[Yang Rupeng] Thank you for attending this interview in the midst of your busy work. I would like you to talk about the nutritive conditions and problems of students in our country.

Yu Ruomu: I am very happy, through the medium of QIUSHI magazine, to talk with the leadership at various levels and the extensive masses of readers about this problem, because it is not a small one. As early as May 1987 at the National Students Nutritive Conditions Discussion and Emulation Meeting, I urged the "whole society to be concerned with the nutritive conditions of students so that the next generation would grow in a healthy manner." On 15 January 1989, the Chinese Students Nutrition Promotion Society was inaugurated, and May 20 each year was chosen as "Chinese Students Nutrition Day." For over a year, the leadership in certain provinces and cities and the various relevant departments have actively developed knowledge and propaganda on students' nutrition, as well as piloting work on schools providing meals for students. This work has thus achieved favorable development.

[Yang Rupeng] Why is it necessary to pay important attention to and research the problem of nutrition?

Yu Ruomu: In colleges and middle and primary schools there are now some 220 million students, making up one-fifth of the country's population. Their nutritive conditions, health, and physique have a direct bearing on the progress of our country's socialist modernization and on the future and destiny of the fatherland and the people. The future belongs to the young people. This is an objective law that cannot be changed by man's wishes. Our present generation of youths should surpass their fathers in health, in wisdom, and in modern knowledge.

They should make even greater contributions to the fatherland's four modernizations.

Our party and people's government have always been deeply concerned with the healthy growth of the students. Early in the initial period of liberation, Chairman Mao's direction to the Ministry of Education was that the students' good health should be "first and foremost." Subsequently, he further issued the call to the youths to be "good in physique, good in studies, and good in work." In 1951 the Government Administration Council announced the "decision on improving the health conditions of students in schools at various levels" which made concrete stipulations regarding enhancing hygiene in schools and improving the administration of the students' meals and diet. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party and the people's government have on several occasions advocated that the entire society should be concerned with the healthy growth of children and youths. The Constitution of our country clearly stipulates that the state "nurtures and trains all-round development in morals, wisdom, and physique of youths, youngsters, and children." The physique of children of the first and second generations after liberation was generally better than their fathers. The generation of people at the age of around 40 has become the backbone on various fronts, and has taken up the burden of the four modernizations.

Seen from the international scope, giving priority to the nutritional problems of students and protecting their health have attracted the universal concern of people in the know. Economically developed countries and many developing countries have formulated a series of policies to improve the nutritive and health conditions of students. The United States has pushed guidance in balanced meal nutrition and has greatly lowered the disease and death rate. Of this, heart disease has dropped by 25 percent, lung trouble by 20 percent, and diabetes by 50 percent. Improvement of the physique of the Japanese people has been, to a very large extent, benefited by a good and perfect policy on nutrition, of which the most important part is providing a nutritive lunch to middle and primary school students. These policies have given Japan the longest life expectancy rate in the world.

Scientific research has shown that a man's memory, degree of sensitivity, reaction to stimulation, judgment, and stamina (including physical and brain power) are all related to the physique, which in turn is principally determined by nutrition, recreation, and rest. Of these, nutrition occupies first place because it is the important material basis for the body's health. When researching the causes of heart disease, a British scholar stated that it was related not only to the diet in adult years but also to poor nutrition in infancy. Since the beginning of this century, for the health needs of mankind and based on the development of various kinds of basic branches of learning, an independent branch of learning which possesses an integrated system—nutrition—came into being. At present, all noninfectious diseases (such as high blood pressure, heart disease, diabetes, lung trouble, and

so forth) can be directly or indirectly traced to their causes and be given precautionary treatment by means of nutrition. Since students are experiencing physical and mental growth, attaching importance to their nutrition is not only a demand for their learning period in school, but also an urgent demand for the students' normal growth and development, and their future work.

[Yang Rupeng] The students' nutrition is certainly an important problem. Could you please tell us about the current situation?

Yu Ruomu: This is what I am going to talk about.

In order to have a clear idea of the basic conditions of the growth and development of students in our country, in 1985, the State Educational Commission, State Physical Culture and Sports Commission, Ministry of Public Health, and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission organized a group of 8,420 celebrated and specialized personnel to conduct a test and survey of 980,000 students aged 7-22 in the 2,188 colleges and middle and primary schools throughout the country. It embraced some 29 topics, including posture, capability, quality, ailments, and so forth, and obtained relatively overall basic data. Certain results were obtained through making statistical computations of some 14 million sets of data from the survey. They showed that the speed of growth and development of students had increased from 1979-1985. Computed on the basis of every 10 years, in cities and towns the height of male and female students aged 7-18 increased each year respectively by 3.13 and 2.45 centimeters, while on average their body weight increased respectively by 2.17 and 1.43 kilograms. The growth and development speed of students in the rural areas was faster than those in urban areas. This surpassed the fastest rate of growth and development of Japanese students, which was from 1960-1970.

Since liberation, the sickness and mortality rate of children and youths in our country has dropped to a rather large extent, nearing the level of developed countries. In the last 10 years, following the rise in the standard of living and development of nutrition, the conditions of the students have obviously improved. Improvement of college students has been outstanding. In certain institutions of higher learning, nutritious meals have been enforced, and some have even put the computer to work on the meals. As for the problem of nutrition for students in the middle and primary schools, certain cities and towns have put it on the daily agenda and developed the work on various sides. Units like public health epidemic prevention stations, public health sections, and nutrition sections of hospitals and public schools, children and youth research institutes, nutrition research offices, and so forth, have joined hands with schools to carry out health and physical examination of middle and primary school students, foster disease prevention work, and sponsor such piloting work as having meals in school, nutritive lunches, and so forth. Experience has been collected in these respects. Experimental use by students in middle and primary schools of nutritious food and

food with added vitamins produced in research work have yielded worthwhile data for further scientific research. All of the above have set up a firm foundation for the future development of nutrition among students.

Although student nutrition has been greatly elevated, certain problems still exist, some are relatively serious. They are manifested principally in the following:

1. Quite a large number of students are victims of poor nutrition. The absorption on intake of nutritive elements is sadly insufficient. According to statistics, the poor nutrition rate among male students was 28.98 percent and among female students was about 36.16 percent (referring principally to cases with a light degree of poor nutrition). Their daily intake of protein was only 75 percent of the standard; they were sadly deficient in the intake of vitamins B1 and B2, iron, calcium, and zinc; their daily intake of vitamin A was only 15-50 percent of the standard; and among them the hemochrome of those suffering from mild anemia was only 10-11 grams/100 milliliters. The causes of poor nutrition were unscientific methods of cooking food, unbalanced meals, bad eating habits (such as taking too many snacks, being highly selective in food choices) and the poor grade of meals offered in the dining halls. For example, we may cite such instances as the poor quality of breakfast eaten by the majority of middle and primary school students (some had no breakfast at all), the mixed nature of lunch, but a substantial supper. This demonstrated the poor balance among the three meals. Children of parents who both had to go to work usually had a very poor lunch; the only sons or daughters of a family were usually highly selective in their food, while eating snacks was common and serious. In addition, some of the children became too fat because of inadequate and improper nutrition.

2. Among the students in schools at various levels, the conditions of middle school students are the worst, and of them, students at specialized middle schools are worse than those at ordinary schools. In the different age groups, students in the youthful growth and development stage (between 12 and 14) have the highest ratio of poor nutrition. For example, the poor nutrition ratio of middle school students aged 13-14 in Zhejiang Province was found to be 47-48 percent; and more than 50 percent of the middle school students in Yaan, Sichuan Province, were suffering from anemia.

3. Rural schools in certain localities do not have dining halls. Students can eat only dried food or salted vegetables from home for their meals. Students in many rural areas cannot drink boiled water, in some cities and towns the problem of getting boiled water in middle and primary schools is still unsolved.

4. Food products for children have suffered from slow development. At present, food produced for students of middle and primary schools and food products for lunch yield little or no profit at all. For this reason, food

products plants do not wish to undertake such production and other plants have closed their doors because of losses.

The above conditions show that the nutrition level of students in our country needs to be raised. To solve this problem speedily requires a lot of work.

[Yang Rupeng] We understand that at the moment many people do not attach importance to the problem. Some have said that, with the development of the economy and having reached the level of being "fairly well off," this problem will ipso facto be solved. Some other people have expressed the opinion that the problem of students is one principally for the nutritionists to tackle and has little relation to other sides. Are such views correct?

Yu Ruomu: The above-mentioned views are rather prevalent, but they are by no means all-inclusive. The existence of such views illustrates that solving the problem of students not only involves enhancing understanding but also indicates that a large amount of follow-up work needs to be done. It may be said that improving the nutrition of students is an enormous and systematic project, requiring arrangements on all sides, cooperation and coordination, and overall treatment and improvement. At present we must perform the following lines of work well:

1. Definitely make the guiding ideology clear and enhance understanding.

In the foregoing, I already mentioned that the strong or weak quality of the physique of youths had a bearing on the fatherland's four modernizations and national destiny. The nutrition of students and quality of their physique are closely related to each other. Hence, it is not simply the small problem of what to eat (in fact, what to eat and how to eat likewise call for certain techniques). On the contrary, it is an important matter with strategic significance and should not be treated lightly.

Is it true that we have to raise the standard of living before we can talk about the problem of nutrition? Or is it true that once the standard of living is elevated, the problem of nutrition will be automatically solved? Certainly not. Improvement of nutrition cannot be separated from economic development and raising living standards, but with the existence of basic material conditions, doing a good job in guiding nutrition scientifically can rapidly improve the nutritive conditions. We can see that in certain developed countries, despite the existence of good material conditions, due to unbalanced nutrition many students have been affected by diseases that are caused by maladjusted nutrition. In the pilot points in schools in our country, as a result of strengthening the scientific guidance of nutrition, without increasing meal expenses but by merely slightly readjusting the food structure, we have greatly improved the nutritive conditions of the students. These facts are forceful evidence.

Our advocacy of improving the conditions of students is not "concentrating on one thing only," but is seeking its organic integration with the nurturing and training of qualified personnel and improving the quality of laborers. It is being treated as a constituent portion of an educational problem. It is only with this understanding that we can elevate our consciousness, increase the sense of responsibility, and earnestly place it on the agenda of daily meetings.

2. Strengthen propagation, education, and guidance, and teach the students nutrition.

We must make the students understand that nutrition is a branch of learning providing welfare to mankind and is beneficial to health. Only through learning about nutrition and guiding one's own meal habits according to the guidance of the principles of nutrition can one possess a good physique, wisdom, and intelligence. We must lead the students to strengthen their knowledge of nutrition, develop good habits in food and diet, and know how to maintain good health. Systematic knowledge on nutrition should be appropriately added to the teaching texts in middle and primary schools, and in medical schools and hospitals sufficient teaching hours should be devoted to courses on nutrition. In the course of preparing meals according to nutritive principles, we may, in liaison with reality, carry out general propaganda work on nutrition to students. By so doing, the students will have a good impression, remember well, and even influence the structure of their family diet. Propagating knowledge about nutrition is a good road. Concurrently, it is hoped that broadcasting, television, news reporting, and publications departments will all actively join in the propaganda work and endeavor to get knowledge of nutrition and hygiene into each and every students' household, so as to gradually eliminate the "blindness in nutrition."

3. Start with reality and suit matters to local conditions in developing nutrition work among the students.

Conditions in schools in various localities differ greatly. We should demarcate between the conditions and, based on their special features, actively and effectively develop nutrition work among the students. We should, on the basis of doing pilot work well, gradually push certain successful experiences and avoid the "rash" method of formalism which does not care about actual effects.

4. The whole society should give priority to and support nutrition work among the students.

Improving the conditions of students is not only a matter of concern to them, their parents, and departments in charge of public health and education, but also requires important attention and support from governments at various levels, various relevant departments, and various industries and trades. If the various governments can discern the dilemma and difficulties facing families whose two family heads must both go to work, then they should put the students' nutrition work on their daily

agenda and persuade the various departments of planning, agriculture, commerce, food products, finance, taxation, commodity prices, industry and commerce, public health, technical supervision, and so forth, to do certain actual work in performing well the job of student nutrition; improve the nutritive supplies to the students; and generally raise the nutritive level, thus solving the people's dilemma.

I believe deeply that, for the sake of the future of the fatherland and the people, we must definitely develop nutrition relating to students, gradually universalize the knowledge, improve the structure of food and meals, and constantly improve the supply. It is certain that there will be great progress in the nutrition of students in our country and in the development and growth of their health and wisdom.

How Should We Understand Theory's Role in Guiding Practice?

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in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 90 pp 44-45

[Article by Wang Yiqiu (3769 1355 4428)]

[Text] Marxist philosophy holds that the relationship between theory and practice is a dialectical one. On the one hand, practice is the foundation of theory as well as the criterion for testing the truth of theory. On the other hand, theory plays an important role in guiding practice. This guiding role may be understood from the following aspects:

First, theory is the guide to action, the scientific basis for the formulation of principles and policies. Theory comes from practice and is the generalization and summation of practical experience. It is of important significance to the vast numbers of cadres engaged in actual work, as it can enable leaders to determine more correct working principles and policies and to clearly recognize the situation and the future, and can prevent them from losing their bearing in the present struggle, which is becoming more and more complicated. It can also enhance the sense of principle, systematic nature, foresight, and creativeness of work; increase our confidence in work; and convince us that the cause led by the party will definitely triumph. As Stalin pointed out, "If theory is formed in close conjunction with revolutionary practice, it will become an immense force for the workers' movement. It is because of theory, and because there is theory, that this movement has won people's faith, will have the ability to set its principles, and can understand the internal links of changes around us. It is because of theory and because there is theory that practice can find out how various classes are advancing and in what direction they are now advancing, as well as how they will advance and in what direction they will advance in the near future."¹ Theory's importance is fully reflected in the following proposition: "Without revolutionary practice, there are no revolutionary actions." This is a truth which has been proved time and again in the

history of Chinese revolution. During the old democratic revolution period, many revolutionary predecessors and people with lofty ideals waged repeated struggles to rejuvenate the Chinese nation and bring prosperity to the people. An important reason for their failure was that they did not have the guidance of a scientific theory—Marxism. The new democratic revolution led by the CPC emerged triumphant after repeated setbacks. An important reason for its success was that it had the correct guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Practice since the founding of the People's Republic also shows that various undertakings developed smoothly when correct theories were used to guide practice, and when correct theories were not used to guide practice, various undertakings suffered setbacks. Hence, improvements the party made on the theoretical level are the fundamental guarantee for the correctness of the party's leadership and the scientific nature of its policies.

Second, theory can set the pace for practice and steer practice away from blindness. Marxism holds that a fundamental distinction between man and animals is that the former plays a conscious dynamic role. Marx figuratively pointed out in *Das Kapital* that, although the bees' ability to build beehives puts many architects to shame, even the most incompetent architect is smarter than bees because he has a conceptual blueprint in his head. This conceptual blueprint finds expression in plans, programs, and designs fixed in advance. Of course, in the practice of transforming nature and society, rarely can we achieve the anticipated goals without having to make alterations in our original concepts, theories, plans, or programs. It is quite common to have to make revisions when these do not conform, partially or totally, with reality. Theories that are scientific are usually formed in the course of repeated practice. They have scientific foresight once they are formed. In other words, they can give scientific explanations to the essence, law, and trend of the development of things through theoretical thinking. Thus, they can set the pace for practice, prove the feasibility of practice in advance, guide practice in such a way as to enable it to achieve the anticipated goals, and prevent blindness in practice. On the whole, the more profound their understanding of things, the better they can guide practice. However, a theory is invariably a reflection of objective matter in a given process and at a given level under specific social conditions. As practice develops, we should seek new understanding and replace old theories with new ones through new practice, rather than let theories lag behind everyday practice and lose their function in guiding practice.

In real life, particularly at the juncture of major turns in practice, the phenomena often occur of lacking theoretical preparation and theory lagging everyday practice. For instance, our reform theories do not match well with the practice of reform. Much of our practical experience had not been elevated to the theoretical level, and many of the objective laws had not been straightened out

theoretically. We simply adopted the tactics of groping along and sounding things out in an effort to avoid blindness. This prudent and cautious approach was necessary. But, in order to ensure the continuous deepening of reform and to increase the possibility of success in reform, we must also conduct theoretical study in depth and breadth so that the development of theory can keep pace with the vigorous practice of life. In a certain sense, theory should set the pace for practice and consciously design specific programs and methods of practice, providing various options, and explaining the consequences of these options. These require theoretical proof in advance and can be put into practice and tested by practice only after comparison and selection. Facts have proved that, without this process of advance theoretical proof, practice is prone to be blind. On the other hand, if practice's feasibility is proven in advance and if there is theoretical guidance, blindness in practice can be avoided.

Third, on the question of theory guiding practice, efforts must be made to prevent tendencies toward dogmatism and empiricism. Errors of dogmatism and empiricism have occurred several times in our party's history and have done great damage to revolution and construction. Rather than taking Marxism as their guide to action and carrying out investigations and studies on the practical experience of China's revolution and construction, dogmatists uncritically accepted isolated phrases taken from Marxist works and regarded them as remedies for all ills. They thus committed the mistake of separating the subjective from the objective. Although empiricists did attach importance to reality, they overlooked Marxism's guiding role. They adhered rigidly to their own fragmented experience for long periods and did not understand the importance of theory to the practice of revolution and construction. As they were unable to see the whole situation and the direction, they unavoidably got bogged down in daily routine and showed blindness in their actions. For instance, some comrades who were engaged in actual work overlooked theoretical guidance. They rested on experience already gained and blindly gave the "go-ahead," with the result that mistakes that could have been avoided were made and unnecessary losses were incurred. In order to overcome these two tendencies, we must first of all step up efforts to study Marxist theories. In particular, we must study and research Marxist philosophy and acquire a scientific world outlook and methodology. A leading cadre who lacks training in Marxist theories and is not good at applying the correct stand, viewpoint, and method in analyzing and solving problems will not be able to distinguish between right and wrong on theoretical matters. He will not be able to play his proper role and therefore will be an unqualified leading party cadre. Next, we must integrate theory with practice, apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method in studying the new situations and new problems in the world as well as in China, and creatively explore new methods and answers. The integration of theory and practice is a basic principle of Marxism; it is the ideological guarantee for

our cause's victory. While emphasizing theory's tremendous role in guiding practice, we must guard against the erroneous tendency of divorcing theory from practice. By theory, we mean theory abstracted from objective reality and proven in objective reality, not empty theory divorced from practice. Empty "theory" can do nothing but harm. It cannot guide practice. If we arbitrarily use it to guide practice, we will definitely bring disaster to revolution and construction. This is a historical experience. During the democratic revolution, for instance, Wang Ming and the like attempted to resort to the theory of "striving to make the CPC more Bolshevik," a theory that was divorced from Chinese reality, in guiding revolutionary practice in China. They caused the Chinese revolution to lose nearly all of its revolutionary bases and suffer great setbacks. This tells us that overcoming the tendencies of dogmatism and empiricism is of great significance in helping the vast numbers of cadres to raise their theoretical level and to dynamically guide practice with correct and realistic theory.

Footnote

1. *Selected Works of Stalin*, Volume 1, p. 200.

Why Is It Wrong To Replace the 'Theory of Reflection' With the 'Theory of Selection'?

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[Article by Zhang Weixiang (1728 4850 4382)]

[Text] Cognition is the reflection of objective matter in the mind; it is something material that has found its way into people's heads, where it has undergone transformation. This is the basic principle of the Marxist theory of knowledge; it is also one of the basic theories guiding our thinking. In recent years, however, some people denigrated and denied this basic principle of epistemology in the name of studying "the nature of man as the subject." They attempted to replace the "theory of reflection" with the "theory of selection" and to fundamentally change the direction and road of man's cognition. The "theory of selection" is an erroneous trend of thought which maintains that man's cognition is self-selection and self-construction on the part of the subject. It denies the basic materialist principle that says that "thinking is the reflection of that which objectively exists." To the advocates of this theory, "the subject's cognition of the spatial characteristics of the object cannot be removed from the relationship between the subject and the object, or from the frame of reference of the subject's selection."¹ Hence, cognition is not the result of the reflection of objective matter, but is the re-construction of information regarding the object in the thinking of the subject. It is a "subject-object" process of thinking. They denied the materialist cognitive line of "matter-feeling-thinking" and one-sidedly exaggerated the role of factors relating to the subject in the cognitive process. This is theoretically wrong and is harmful in practice.

First, the "theory of selection" is bound to result in idealist apriorism, as it denies that cognition is the reflection of objective matter and fundamentally goes against man's basic principle of cognition. Reflection is the essence of the cognitive activities of mankind. Perceptual knowledge and rational knowledge alike are results of the reflection of objective matter. As an abstraction of thinking, rational knowledge is but the processing of perceptual materials, and does not directly reflect the objective matter itself. It thus appears to be farther removed from reality than perceptual knowledge. However, this does not imply that it is not the reflection of objective matter. The appearance of matter is an objective existence, but so is the essence of matter. Hence, the rational knowledge of the essence and law of matter is also a reflection of objective matter. Seizing hold of characteristics like abstraction and formalism, which are unique to man's rational thinking and which cannot be achieved through the direct reflection of objective matters, the "theory of selection" denies that rational knowledge is the result of the reflection of objective matter and considers cognition to be the free selection or reconstruction on the part of the subject. This is totally wrong, as it cuts off the dialectical relationship between perceptual knowledge and rational knowledge, fails to see the special nature of rational reflection, interprets the concept of "reflection" as something directly perceived through the senses and, on this basis, denies the special reflective nature of rational knowledge. This is bound to result in idealist apriorism, and rational knowledge will become "water without a source, or a tree without roots." Lenin once said: "The abstraction of matter, the abstraction of the laws of nature, the abstraction of value and, in a nutshell, the abstraction of everything scientific (correct, solemn, and not absurd) can reflect nature in a more profound, correct, and wholesome way."² Concepts, information, and signals alike are not things inherent in the mind or innate in the subject, but are results of the reflection of external matter. A concept is an abstraction of external matter. A signal is a certain sign of external matter. Information comes from the sign of a certain object and has its own material origin and carrier. Although they are not the result of the direct reflection of external matter, they have come from a given object nonetheless. If this is not the case, cognition will have lost its own basis.

Second, the "theory of selection" is bound to result in relativism and agnosticism, as it denies the possibility that man can correctly understand the objective world and cuts off the ties between the subjective and the objective. Cognition has the reflection of the essence of the objective world as its aim. Only by correctly revealing the true features of the objective world can man take active initiative to remold the objective world and promote the continuous development of human society. If man's cognition cannot reflect the essence of matter, such cognition is meaningless. In negating that cognition is the reflection of objective matter, the advocates of the "theory of selection" also deny the possibility that man can understand the world. This is bound

to result in relativism and agnosticism in cognition. They even admitted without mincing words that "the so-called 'true feature' of the object is something elusive, while objective knowledge perceived in a sense which tallies with the object as a 'thing-in-itself' is non-existence."³ In their eyes, the objective world cannot be understood, and scientific knowledge is a relative and subjective construction that can be altered at will. Expressed in terms of the conception of history, such a mentality is bound to make people deny the law and inevitability of social development, and see social history as the self-creation of certain outstanding individuals. This was how they created public opinion and paved the way for a small number of the "elite" group to take over the helm of government. Their political intention was obvious. However, reality and the "theory of selection" contradict each other. Engels once said the "most convincing refutation of these and all other philosophical absurdities is practice, that is, experiments and industry. Since we can create a natural process ourselves and can make it serve our objectives, thereby proving the correctness of our understanding of this process, we have seen the back of Kant's inscrutable 'thing-in-itself'."⁴ The development of natural science and improvements in the standards of man's practical activities in transforming nature are continuously proving man's ability to understand nature and to reflect the essence of matter. These facts have refuted the erroneous ideas of the "theory of selection."

Third, the "theory of selection" is bound to result in subjective idealism, as it denies the objective existence of the material world and abolishes the basis and fundamental premise of man's cognition. The objective world is the only source and only object of man's cognition. Admitting that the material world is an objective existence independent of man's will is the basic premise for cognition to be carried out. Once divorced from the objective world, cognitive activities will lose their own objective foundation and basis. They cannot take place and cannot be carried out. Since the "theory of selection" denies cognition as the reflection of objective matter, the advocates of this theory are bound to deny the objective existence of the material world and deny that the objective world is the object of man's cognition. To them, the objects of cognition lie not in the external material world, but in "conceptual things" created by man, and involve the reconstruction of totally new images of objects which are non-existent in reality. Hence, being does not determine thinking. Rather, it is thinking that determines being. "The concept that the result of observation depends on the mode of surveying adopted by the subject has led to a revolution in the theory of knowledge. This refers to the replacement of the classic view of nature which does not depend on the subject with a new view which centers on the observer."⁵ Some people even brazenly declared: "We know now that the moon indeed does not exist when no one is looking at it."⁶ Scientific knowledge and even the material world itself are thus considered to be products created by the subject and which are dependent on the subjective will of the observer. The "theory of selection"

thus degenerates into naked "solipsism." Marx once said that, "without nature and without the perceptual external world, the workers can create nothing."⁷ "Man has not created matter itself. Even productive capacities of this or that kind, which enable man to create matter, can only function under conditions which already exist in the matter itself."⁸ This tells us that when we try to know and remold a certain matter through practice, the implication is that that particular matter is already in existence. Only those matters which already exist objectively can become objects of cognition. Natural science never doubts the objective existence of the material world. Through exploring objects of nature, it continuously comes to understand the laws of nature and discovers many objective truths. The "theory of selection" is fundamentally antagonistic to the development of natural science, as it denies the objective existence of the material world.

Fourth, the "theory of selection" is bound to result in mistakes in work, as it denies the materialist principle of the theory of reflection and fundamentally runs counter to the ideological line of "seeking truth from facts." Our party's basic ideological line is to "seek truth from facts" and proceed from reality in everything. This is the concrete embodiment of the principle of the theory of reflection in our party's guiding ideology; it is also our guiding principle in all work. As proven by the practice of revolution and construction over the past few decades, when this basic principle was upheld, we were correct in our line, principles, and policies, had the support of the whole party and the people of the whole country, and saw the smooth development of our cause; however, when this basic principle was violated we made mistakes in our line, principles, and policies, were liable to be divorced from the masses, and saw setbacks in our cause. The "theory of selection" one-sidedly exaggerates the dynamic role of the subject, opposes the basic cognitive principle of the "theory of reflection," and denies the fact that objective laws impose restrictions on cognition. In practice, it is bound to result in the prevalence of subjectivism and bring about irreparable losses to revolution and construction. In addition to other reasons, the most important cause of the mistakes we made in the preceding stage was that we failed to uphold the ideological line of "seeking truth from facts." We separated the subjective from the objective, did not proceed from concrete conditions of the country and reality when drawing up feasible plans, and violated the basic principle of the Marxist theory of reflection. Addressing a rally marking the May 4th Movement, Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out, "We are confronted with many new situations and new problems in our task of upholding the four cardinal principles and the reform and open policy. In this connection, we must proceed from reality, conscientiously study and conduct research on the basic theories of Marxism, deepen our understanding of national conditions, continuously make theoretical generalizations of practice by the masses, and grasp the objective laws of modernization. This requires arduous explorations on the part of our intellectuals." Provided

that we uphold the basic principle of the "theory of reflection," adhere to the party's ideological line of "seeking truth from facts," and go deep into the realities of life to conduct investigations and studies, we will definitely be able to overcome difficulties and find the correct road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics through unremitting efforts and arduous explorations.

Footnotes

1. Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055]: "The Questions of Realism and the Theory of Reflection," WEN HUI BAO, 12 July 1988.
2. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 38, p. 181, People's Publishing House, 1959.
3. ZHONGGUO SHEHUI KEXUE No. 3, 1987, p. 71.
4. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 221.
5. Wang Zhenwu [3769 2182 2976]: "The Epistemological Significance of the Theory of Selection," ZHEXUE YANJIU No. 11, 1988, p. 29.
6. Jin Guantao [6855 6034 3447]: *The Philosophy of Man*, p. 12.
7. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 42, p. 92.
8. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 58.

Vivid Portrayal of the Spirit of Public Servants—Reading the Full-Length Reportage *Road to Wuji*

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[Article by Fan Yongge (5400 0737 2047)]

[Text] Goethe had this to say about the feelings he had after reading Shakespeare: "After reading the first page, it feels as if my whole life is his; after reading a whole book, it feels as if I have been blind all my life and that it is the book, with its miracle-working hands, that has just given vision to my eyes." We get more or less the same sublime experience when we read the reportage *Road to Wuji* (written by Hong Jia [1347 3946] and published by the Liberation Army Literature and Art Publishing House). This book is about a county party committee secretary and the two counties where he served at different times. It brings us into the realm of loftiness and beauty with its exigent subject matter, profound ideas, and tear-moving sentiments.

The protagonist Liu Ri is a young county party committee secretary who has won himself quite a good political reputation on the two banks of the Hutuo River. Inspired by a strong public servant spirit, he does not want to be just an "honest official" who is clean and aboveboard. Neither does he want to be a "yes man" who receives government emoluments and puts on

bureaucratic airs. Confronted with the people's poverty, he feels that he "does not even have the time to sigh." He was adamant that a replica of the "Ningguo House" and the "Rongning Street" [of *Dream of the Red Chamber* fame] should be built in Zhengding County. Thanks to his insistence, Zhengding and its new "Qing Dynasty Street" became a tourist attraction. Other businesses were also enlivened as a result. He was later transferred to Wuji, a small, poverty-stricken county. When a helpless and wretched 91-year-old in Sucun village "knelt on his brick bed and bowed" to him during a home visit on the eve of the Chinese New Year, Liu Ri sighed with emotion and said, "If, as the head of a county, I have so much to eat that I grow a big belly, and can ride in deluxe cars, but the masses are suffering from cold and starvation, what kind of county official does that make me?" He wasted no time and performed great achievements within a few short years. During their play time, children sang in praise of the "three highs, three savings, and six complete sets; the six lengthwise and six crosswise roads; the orchards built on 100,000 mu of reclaimed land; the building of greenhouses and rat poison." The history of Wuji turned over a new leaf under this 28th county party committee secretary. Liu Ri is the true embodiment of the spirit and boldness of vision of a Communist official. What he has brought to the people of Wuji, who set great store by tangible results, is the centripetal force of having faith in the Communist Party and following the Communist Party.

The strength of this particular piece of work also lies in the fact that it has not portrayed Liu Ri as a "savior." Liu Ri's charm is that he moves his "gods"—the peasants of Wuji—with his love and understanding. We may thus say that *Road to Wuji* is a story of love and understanding. If we say that Liu Ri's deeds in writing sincerely to big shots and capable persons of Wuji origin scattered all over the country to solicit their service and advice, his going to various prisons to recruit technical personnel, and so on, have brought about remarkable "hard effects" in the economic development of Wuji, we would say that the "soft effects" brought about by the love, understanding, and help given to the old and destitute, who are regarded by some as "useless," to the rejuvenation of Wuji are difficult to estimate. It was not that long ago that Qiu Mantun was contemptuously called "the rat-poison seller" by everyone. Thanks to the special concern shown by Liu Ri, he became universally

known as the king of rat poison and was offered handsome rewards by domestic and overseas manufacturers seeking his service. What did Qiu Mantun have to say about this? He said, "As long as Liu Ri is here, I will not go anywhere." Useful and capable people feel safe and understood around Liu Ri. A sense of belonging grows among them and the spectacular phenomenon of "the hearts of all turned to the Duke of Zhou" appeared. "He who shares his happiness with the people will find people willing to share his worries; he who shares peaceful times with the people will find people coming to his aid in times of danger." Thus, we see one touching scene after another: When Liu Ri was made victim of a false accusation, the people sent him an inscribed plaque to console him. When Liu Ri was sick and seeking treatment in a hospital in the provincial capital, a continuous stream of visitors went to see him. The apples brought by the people of Wuji were the first lot reaped from the 100,000 mu of barren land opened up under Liu Ri's leadership. When the medical and nursing staff were told of the flesh-and-blood ties between this county party committee secretary and his people, they not only did not stop these people who "defied hospital regulations," but specially set aside a reception room for Liu Ri...

When what one sees and hears all the time are serious phenomena of corruption within the party, the image of a strikingly honest and upright public servant like Liu Ri is beyond the imagination of the author and of us readers, so much so that the author had to abandon his plan to use the materials to write a full-length novel and had instead written the present nonfiction.

The shock produced by the publication of this reportage demonstrates once again that, when the prism of literature is focused on the "backbone" of society, the force produced will be beyond imagination. At present, when national rallying force and centripetal force are particularly needed, literature should not remain quiet. The sons and daughters of the Chinese nation are dreaming every day about making the country and the people rich. As long as we do not constantly fix our attention on the negative aspects of life, we will discover that there are many positive aspects and many comrades like Liu Ri. "Rather than engaging in mere talk, they do things. They think about the future, but they concentrate on the present that leads to the future." (Lu Xun: "Listening to Dream Talks" in *Dialects North and South*) When our literature seeks and portrays people like them, it will definitely stop lingering and will enter a new phase of development.

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